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ABSTRACT

The need for a dual perspective on the part of social workers to work with minority clients and its use in social work education is discussed. The Human Behavior and Social Environment (HBSE) sequence of a social work curriculum is discussed from the dual perspective, and material illustrating how the dual perspective and minority content can be incorporated into an HBSE sequence course is presented. This book explores the use of the dual perspective in method courses and the practicum and presents materials for both practicum and practice in a pluralistic society. It then focuses on the dual perspective and the Social Welfare Policy and Services sequence, presenting material with substantive content and highlighting differences in perspective. Material is provided on American Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, and Latinos. (Author/SPG)

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The Dual Perspective

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Inclusion of Ethnic Minority Content in the Social Work Curriculum

by

Dolores G. Norton

with contributions by

Eddie Frank Brown
Edwin Garth Brown
E. Aracelis Francis
Kenji Murase
Ramon Valle

COUNCIL ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

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Council on Social Work Education

345 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017

Foreword

The Council on Social Work Education is pleased to make available this most important source book by Dolores Norton in collaboration with Eddie Frank Brown, Edwin Garth Brown, E. Aracelis Francis, Kenji Murase, and Ramon Valle. It is a significant document and builds on over ten years of effort by social work educators committed to the development of specific content on ethnic minorities for inclusion in the social work education curriculum.

The concept of the dual perspective, developed by Dolores Norton and her collaborators, addresses both content and methodology. It recognizes the need for specific courses for ethnic minorities but views this approach as an interim one. Ultimately, in order to assure its institutionalization in social work education programs, this content must be infused throughout the core curriculum.

This is a timely document and should be an invaluable tool for social work faculty who are earnestly seeking new and innovative ways of preparing social work students, both minority and others, for more effective service delivery to ethnic minority people. Students interested in a conceptual framework for testing out their own hypotheses based on theories postulated in the classroom and in their practice experience also will find it helpful.

Although this book identifies the need for further work in the application of the dual perspective to social work education and practice, it provides a scholarly foundation upon which social work educators and practitioners can build.

One note of caution is in order here. This effort will be advanced only if administrators and faculty are committed to addressing issues related to ethnic minorities as a primary mission of the social work profession. There must be an incisive awareness on their part that they are addressing a community of people who, because of their color, ethnicity, cultural background, or economic status, have not had the freedom of opportunity for self-fulfillment that is an integral part of the American way of life.

CARL SCOTT
Associate Executive Director

Preface

The concept of the dual perspective grew out of the work of a group of social work educators struggling to develop specific content and models for incorporating content on minorities into the social work curriculum. A series of meetings sponsored by the Council on Social Work Education in which the educators discussed the problems and issues involved and shared materials began to yield a common theme: to prepare social workers to meet the needs of their total client system in a pluralistic society, social work education must produce graduates who are capable of understanding and intervening from a dual perspective.

In addition to the educators presenting course material in this source book, many others were involved in providing ideas and criticism as the concept developed. Special gratitude goes to the Council on Social Work Education, and especially to Carl Scott and Samuel O. Miller of the Council staff, and Otis Turner, formerly of the Council staff, for their support, guidance, and ideas during the entire project.

The work of Leon Chestang of the University of Chicago, Edwin Garth Brown of the University of Utah, and E. Aracelis Francis of Adelphi University, who served as workshop leaders in many of the seminars and contributed their notes and suggestions, was crucial to the development of the concept.

Joan Durman of the University of Chicago added to the clarity of the manuscript by kindly volunteering to read it and offering very useful suggestions for its revision.

Finally, special acknowledgement goes to those who participated in the CSWE seminars, who are too numerous to mention individually.

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1. Introduction

This source book presents content and methodology necessary for understanding and working with minority groups. In addition, it contains strategies for incorporating this information into the social work curriculum. This goal is based on the conviction that integration of ethnic minority content in basic courses will significantly improve the curriculum.

In a pluralistic society composed of different racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups, the goal of social work education must be to train social workers to meet the needs of its total client system. Most social workers, minority and nonminority alike, work at one time or another with members of at least one minority group: American Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, or Latinos. These groups should be understood in the context of not only the problems that often accompany their minority status, but for the richness of their heritage and the potential for their beneficial contribution to society. Social work education must teach its students to understand, appreciate, and be sensitive to cultural differences.

Some social work programs have recognized this need and have added specific courses on the minority people and communities that their students serve. These separate courses, however, should be viewed only as a temporary solution, for their function is to aid in the development of concepts and knowledge on minorities in preparation for the incorporation of that content throughout the curriculum. This incorporation should be done "with the same commitment to academic excellence and sound curriculum planning given other areas of professional training."[1]

Although we are proposing the integration of minority content throughout the curriculum, specialized minority courses also have a place for in-depth study of particular minority groups.

Considerable knowledge on minority groups has been developed and systematized by task forces under the sponsorship of the Council on Social Work Education; by individual faculty members in social work programs; by consortiums of schools sponsored by private and public funds; and in some rare instances by faculties working together. Inclusion of this material in the curriculum will require the commitment of the school administration and its faculty if it is to be accomplished effectively.[2] Faculty sensitivity and administrative support are insufficient without a viable body of knowledge and a conceptual framework for its implementation. This source book attempts to help supply that need.

No one social work program can include adequate content on all the minority

groups in question. In deciding how to develop its content, the individual program must consider several factors: which groups its graduates are most likely to serve, its stated mission and goal, its geographic location, the minority composition of its student body and faculty, and the size of the minority population in its area.

The purpose of this source book is to (1) present a perspective for understanding and working with minority groups, and (2) to present some examples of possible course content and methodology on how information on minority groups can be incorporated into the Human Behavior and the Social Environment sequence, the Social Welfare Policy and Services sequences, and Practice courses. Although far from comprehensive, this book presents the perspectives of social work educators that are involved in this task, as well as some course material. There is material on American Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, and Latinos. The goal is to develop a perspective and some basic methodological principles for understanding minorities, and indeed all people.

This book begins with a definition and statement of the need for a dual perspective on the part of social workers to work with minority client systems. It discusses the HBSE sequence from the dual perspective and presents material illustrating how the dual perspective and minority content can be incorporated into an HBSE sequence course. It then explores the use of the dual perspective in methods courses and the practicum and presents material for practice in a pluralistic society. Then the book focuses on the dual perspective and the Social Welfare Policy and Services sequence, presenting material with substantive content and highlighting differences in perspective. It ends with a brief summary and conclusion.

Notes

1. June Brown, "Can Social Work Education Prepare Practitioners to Contribute a Cogent Challenge to American Racism?" in *Black Perspectives on Social Work Education* (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1974), pp.1-12.

2. Eddie Frank Brown, "Integration of Minority Content in the Social Work Curriculum" (Doctoral diss., University of Utah, May, 1975).

2. The Dual Perspective

Definition

The dual perspective is the conscious and systematic process of perceiving, understanding, and comparing simultaneously the values, attitudes, and behavior of the larger societal system with those of the client's[1] immediate family and community system. It is the conscious awareness on the cognitive and attitudinal levels of the similarities and differences in the two systems. It requires substantive knowledge and empathic appreciation of both the majority societal system and the minority client system, as well as a conscious awareness of the social worker's own attitudes and values. Thus the dual perspective allows one to experience each system from the point of view of the other.

The dual perspective then is an attitudinal and a cognitive approach. It is a nonjudgmental perception of the clients' cultural forms, interactional styles, and behavioral responses within those of the larger society. This perception leads the social worker to view the clients' responses in the context of their sociocultural circumstances. The intent is to broaden the social worker's understanding and sensitivity to the totality of the life situation of the client group and to build services on the needs of that particular situation.

The concept of the dual perspective grew out of the idea that every individual is a part of two systems: the larger system of the dominant society, and the smaller system of the client's immediate physical and social environment. It is a conceptual tool that describes a very complex process, a complexity that stems from the variety of subsystems within each of the two systems. It juxtaposes the various elements involved and focuses on the degree of incongruence between the two systems.

The dual perspective is an essential entity that exists whether or not a social worker recognizes and uses it. The degree of incongruence between the societal system and the client's system is a critical consideration. In a society that rejects the immediate environmental system of racial minorities, the achievement of congruence for the minority client is severely limited, if not impossible. It is this fact that makes the dual perspective uniquely suited for working with ethnic minority groups.

One of the distinguishing features of professionals is the kind of decisions they make and the knowledge they use in making these decisions. The dual perspective provides a frame of reference for making more effective professional decisions. It increases the awareness of possible and actual points of conflict between the minority client's perspective and that of the dominant society. It enhances awareness of the structural-institutional sources that contribute to the

inequality of opportunity for minority groups. When it is utilized, the processes of assessment and understanding should produce results vitally different than at present.

Social workers are taught "empathy," "to begin where the client is," and to view the client's situation "nonjudgmentally" and with self-awareness. These principles have been operationalized in the past on the assumption that there was congruence between the client system and the dominant system. The dual perspective builds upon these familiar social work principles and provides the social worker with a framework for making them operational, especially with minority clients. Use of the process forces the worker to take into consideration substantive content on the minority client system that prevents stereotyping, misinterpretations, incorrect expectations, and inappropriate interventions.

Rationale and Theory Underlying the Dual Perspective

Social work education and practice must speak to the human service needs of all people in a pluralistic society. We have stated that the concept of the dual perspective grew out of the idea that the individual is a part of two systems. This idea of duality is supported theoretically. Chestang wrote of the duality of the Black experience. He called the larger and more dominant system of individual experience the "sustaining system." It houses the instrumental needs of man, the goods and services, the political power, and the economic resources, all of which factors confer status and power. Embedded in the larger system is the more immediate system, the physical and social environment of family and close community. A person's basic sense of identity grows out of this. Chestang referred to this as the "nurturing environment."[2] The nurturing environment can be compared to Erikson's "significant others," those closest and most involved in the determination of an individual's sense of identity. The individual's experiences and sense of identity growing out of his or her relationship with "significant others" play an important part in the interaction with those in the larger society. Thus two social systems can be inferred.[3]

Mead's concept of the "generalized other" also can be used to understand the dual perspective. He defined the generalized other as taking on the attitude of the wider society in regard to oneself. In this way one learns to become an object to oneself, to have an identity, to know oneself through role taking and from the reflection of others. In acting out the roles of others, children discover that the roles belong to their own nature and begin to know themselves. From the many roles assumed, there gradually arises a generalized other. This attitude of the generalized other or organized community gives unity of self to individuals as they incorporate society's responses and react accordingly.[4]

Mead spoke only of one generalized other. However, minority persons who assume the attitude of the generalized other of the wider society have a strong possibility of seeing themselves devalued. The more they incorporate a negative image into their identity, the more they will be devalued in their own image. Yet we know minority persons do attain a good sense of self. It is our assumption that there is an alternative generalized other (a dual generalized other, if you

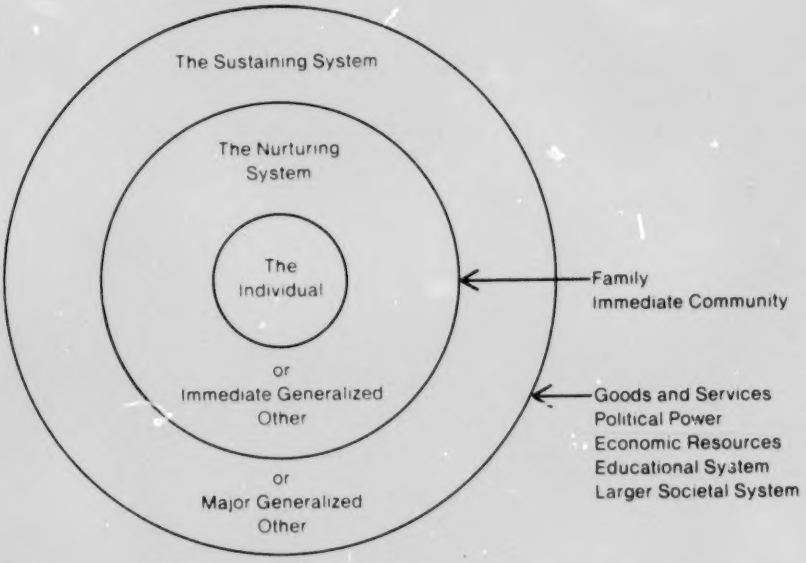
wish) that balances or compensates for the potential destruction of self-worth coming from the wider society.

The alternative generalized other is the attitude of the family and immediate community environment, the nuturing environment of Chestang, the significant others of Erikson. If minority children receive love and care from their families, this can instill a positive sense of self. Since many minority members are reasonably isolated from the white community physically and socially, the attitude of the more immediate generalized other can develop, restore, or help them maintain self-esteem. They can use it as a buffer against the effects of the attitude of the generalized other from the larger society as they experience the wider community. This cannot be accomplished totally though, for they are very aware of the attitude of the dominant generalized other. If the mechanisms of socialization in the nuturing environment or the more immediate generalized other are positive, it helps people balance the destructive image coming from the larger community.

The overall generalized other of an individual may be thought of as a continuum or series of definitions, attitudes, or expectations with which one perceives oneself, the world around one, and one's interaction with that world. The generalized other of family and community and the generalized other of the larger society can be conceptualized as parts of the total generalized other. Depending on the experience or situation, one suspects that certain aspects of the generalized other will have primacy or fade into the background.

FIGURE 1

The Dual System of all Individuals



If both the immediate generalized other and the major generalized other reflect the same image to an individual, he or she will incorporate them as a total generalized other without conflict and interact accordingly. For some individuals there can be positive reflections and attitudes from both the immediate and major generalized other leading to a good sense of self-worth and harmony in functioning.[5] When the degree of congruence is high, the dual perspective still exists, but it is not crucial to evaluation because the perspectives are alike. The social worker has little trouble evaluating and understanding this situation.

For many minority groups the conflict grows out of the degree of incongruence between the two systems, since the frames of reference of the minority group, though embedded in and affected by the major society, can be quite different. In order to assess the situation in its totality and to base intervention on that interaction between them, it is necessary to understand and be aware of both systems; thus use of the dual perspective becomes crucial. The dual perspective then is not a concept to be applied solely to minority people and groups. It enhances our understanding of all people, but is particularly vital to the assessment and understanding of those whose immediate generalized other might differ or be in conflict with the major generalized other. And these are more likely to be minority people.

Use of the Dual Perspective

Although later sections of this source book will attempt to make the dual perspective more concrete by giving specific illustrations and examples of its use, a general statement here of its use will be helpful in understanding it. The frame of reference of the dual perspective informs practice by helping the social worker evaluate disparate systems and determine more accurately where the major stress lies. This should result in more effective interventive action.

Development of the dual perspective first requires a mind set that is similar to what Piaget refers to as "reversible thought."[6] This is the ability and conscious motivation to think about the situation being observed and to look for points of difference, conflict, or congruence with the larger society. This assumes knowledge of several systems and an awareness of one's own attitudes. The second requirement is the specific knowledge to guide to activities of the consciously reversing mind set.

Social workers must have specific knowledge about the group with which they are involved. One cannot assess correctly without specific cultural knowledge of the nurturing environment (the immediate generalized other). For example, although one may be aware of normal adolescent needs and behavior, one cannot evaluate appropriately the behavior of a specific minority adolescent until knowing the prescriptions for adolescent behavior within that group. One then evaluates the adolescent's behavior against the theoretical knowledge on adolescents, and against the specific ethnic or cultural knowledge of the adolescent's cultural group and the opportunities available to the group. Some synthesis is made and evaluated against the values of the social worker to determine possible individual bias and the ability to entertain

difference. The whole process must be carried out using the consciously reversible mind set and having specific knowledge of the immediate generalized other. The worker must have valid knowledge in order to avoid stereotyping. Acceptance of certain behavioral characteristics because of stereotyped knowledge about a certain group does not constitute an application of the dual perspective.

Importance of the Dual Perspective in Practice

As stated earlier, the dual perspective informs practice by helping the social worker evaluate disparate systems and determine where the major stress lies. Social work practice from the dual perspective forces the social worker to answer the question of whether one should move to work with the immediate environment, with the dominant environment, with both systems, or whether to intervene at all.[7]

The dual perspective is needed to understand the institutionalized disadvantages of minorities. There are structural barriers in the dominant system erected against individuals that belong to a certain group. Often these are not readily apparent unless the situation is viewed using the dual perspective. What are the differences in the relationship and interaction between the nurturing environment and that of the wider society? What are the not-so-easily-seen restrictions of "normal" institutional functioning that erect barriers to opportunity? What happens to values fostered in the nurturing world when they come into contact with the wider society? The social worker must be aware of any societal barriers, since they often heavily influence the quality of the lives of minority group members. This awareness is difficult to gain unless the social worker is familiar with the specifics of the group life, the values and attitudes of the group informing that life, and the attitudes of the dominant society. This knowledge and awareness should create a responsibility in the social worker to strive for change of those socioeconomic and political barriers that adversely affect the quality of the lives of the group.

Cafferty stated that bilingualism among Puerto Ricans reflects not only cultural pluralism, but a unique need, necessary for them as a result of their periodic return migration to their home island.[8] Thus they have very different assimilation needs in regard to language than other immigrant groups in American history. For example, the dual perspective would allow social workers involved in educational policy with the Puerto Rican community to be aware of this specific history and need, and relate this information to current social work program policy and help develop educational programs more related to community needs.

Grossman observed that the "utilization of medical care is linked to differential experiences of life" and described specifically how different ethnic groups respond to illness and its treatment.[9] She suggested that cultural pluralism needs to become an added dimension in dealing with illness and health, and the organization of health delivery systems. Patient compliance with the prescribed treatment is one of the major problems of institutional

medicine. The use of the dual perspective can offer new leads and solutions to this problem. For example, Grossman stated that a developed folk tradition in medicine endures in Hispanic communities. Modern medical ideas that are in conflict with these folkways are often not accepted. The dual perspective provides knowledge of these conflicts and should lead to the development of health delivery systems based on community values and practices. Compliance with prescribed treatment will be more likely to occur in such situations.

The dual perspective also can aid students and social workers in clarifying their personal and professional value system from a minority perspective. Students will be forced into an awareness—and hopefully evaluation—of how their own values differ from those of their clients. Minority students also must operate from the dual perspective. Many of them tend to reject passive, uninvolved minority clients and groups. By using the dual perspective, they will be able to take into consideration the client's immediate environment or nurturing system, age, history, values, and immediate generalized other, which will explain why the client may never reach the level of involvement in minority issues that the student would desire.

June Brown aptly stated that accurate assessment must mean awareness of the variability of life circumstances, life styles, and aspirations within minority groups.[10] Accurate assessment also means the recognition of the interrelationship of depriving conditions, social stress, and behavioral and emotional disturbances. The social work education experience should be designed to enable the student to become self-aware and to view the situation within the framework of the dual perspective.

Incorporating the Dual Perspective into the Curriculum

A cursory survey of course outlines of various schools reveals that few courses containing minority content clearly state course goals. The relationship of the material to social work practice is not always clear and is seldom explicated by the instructor. Edwin G. Brown stated that this is perhaps due to the lack of clearly defined educational goals or objectives related to minority content matter.[11] Tyler outlined curriculum development as a process that is predicated upon the establishment of clearly defined goals.[12] Mager has added that increased clarity of purpose and improved assessment will result if the clearly defined goals are stated in behavioral terms.[13]

Once the goals have been defined clearly, specific content and learning experiences in the classroom must be developed to attain them. A statement and evaluation of specific student behavioral goals should be attempted. This is particularly relevant in courses on minorities. Without specific goals in practice, these courses become essentially ethnic history or sociology courses that usually can be taught better in other departments. Worse yet, they may become simply a litany of injustices that Gwen Gilbert called the "Ain't It Awful" syndrome.[14] Using the dual perspective as a framework for better assessment and more informed intervention provides control over the course material by looking at the immediate environment and its relationship to interaction with

the wider society, which sets a well-defined direction for the course.

Students cannot develop the frame of reference of the dual perspective by possessing only a theoretical and intellectual understanding of differences. There has to be experiential learning in the classroom as well as in the practicum that will begin to develop the reversible mind set. In experiential learning, students must use their feelings and values to foster understanding as well as their cognitive abilities. Role playing, candid discussion of personal experiences, and labs are three techniques that can move the classroom work from the theoretical to a more total engagement of the self in understanding the values of another group. There should be an attempt to integrate the intellectual knowledge on minority group differences with the mind set that may involve a different frame of reference than one's own, while simultaneously being cognizant of one's own perspective. This is the dual perspective.

A word of caution is needed. A racial or minority label does not presume monolithic thought, values, or behavior for all members of any group. Although there appear to be certain common characteristics that seem deeply embedded because of shared experiences, individuals and groups do react differently. The specific situation must be observed within its particular milieu. The dual perspective requires valid knowledge of the individual or group, the specific culture, the major society, and one's own beliefs, guided by a consciously reversing mind set. Pursuing such a process is not easy, but social workers have long known that it is a difficult task to understand any situation in its broadest perspective, let alone to take effective and appropriate action.

Notes

1. The term "client" refers to all client systems, whether individual, family, group, community, or larger macro units in planning.
2. Leon Chestang, "Environmental Influences on Social Functioning: The Black Experience," in *The Diverse Society: Implications for Social Policy*, ed. Pastora Cafferty and Leon Chestang (New York: Association Press, 1976).
3. Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1968).
4. George H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).
5. For further discussion on the various combinations of the minority and majority generalized other and the effect on identity, see Dolores Norton, "Residential Environment and Black Self-Image: Moving Toward the Relationship of Personality and Policy," Cafferty and Chestang, *op. cit.*
6. Jean Piaget, *Logic and Psychology* (New York: Basic Books, 1957), pp. 10-12.
7. For further discussion on the levels of intervention concept see R. Lippitt et al., *The Dynamics of Planned Change* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958).
8. Pastora Cafferty, "Puerto Rican Return Migration: Its Implication for Bilingual Education," Cafferty and Chestang, *op. cit.*
9. L. Grossman, "Ethnicity and Health Delivery Systems," *ibid*, p. 130.

10. June Brown, "Can Social Work Education Prepare Practitioners to Contribute a Cogent Challenge to American Racism?" in *Black Perspectives on Social Work Education* (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1974), pp. 1-12.

11. Edwin G. Brown, "Integrating Minority Content into Social Work Education," course outline (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1974).

12. Ralph W. Tyler, *Principles of Curriculum Development* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950).

13. Robert F. Mager, *Preparing Instructional Objectives* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Fearon Publications, 1962).

14. Ethnic Affairs Committee, "Beyond Ain't It Awful," mimeographed (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University School of Social Work, 1974).

3. Using the Dual Perspective in Human Behavior Courses

The Council on Social Work Education's curriculum policy statement defines the human behavior and social environment sequence as that "body of content relating to human behavior designed to contribute to the students' understanding of the individual, group, organizational, institutional, and cultural contexts within which human behavior is expressed and by which it is significantly influenced."[1] The human behavior and social environment sequence should provide a framework for understanding man and his interaction with his social and physical environment and this knowledge should lead to what one does in terms of practice and policy. If we believe that better understanding of a situation determines more effective interventive action, then HBSE courses bear an enormous responsibility to develop and impart valid and comprehensive information that can lead to this kind of understanding. HSBE courses should support and contribute to the methodological sequences, with knowledge flowing between the HSBE courses, the methods courses, and the field. The process should be repeated, with knowledge being modified and augmented as the spiral continues.[2]

Incorporation of the dual perspective into HBSE courses becomes imperative if the above goals are to be met in regard to minority groups. We have already stated that all individuals function within two systems: the nurturing system or that of the immediate generalized other, and the sustaining system or that of the major generalized other. These two systems exist for everyone. If the two systems are congruent in values and attitudes and therefore supportive of the individual, use of the dual perspective, while enhancing one's understanding of the situation, is not so crucial to its correct assessment. When considering minority experiences there are more likely to be differences between the two systems. The frames of reference of the minority group, though embedded in the larger society, often can be quite different from those of the dominant society. Failure to use the dual perspective in working with minority groups or to evaluate the meaning of these differences can be costly in terms of understanding and intervention.

We need to stress the major components of the dual perspective again: a reversible mind set and valid knowledge. In the reversible mind set one consciously makes observations of the nurturing system and just as consciously evaluates this against knowledge and observations in the dominant system. It is a technique that allows the dual perspective to operate. Social workers also must

be aware of their own needs and feelings in order to make decisions based on the needs of their clients. Reactions to others with different values and life styles are not so simple to evaluate. Use of the dual perspective requires conscious reflection on the part of the social worker about the meaning of an act to the client, that is, using the client's framework to understand the meaning of an act. In order to accomplish this, specific, valid knowledge of minority groups must be available. It is this specific knowledge for which HBSE courses bear much responsibility.

The Dual Perspective and HBSE Content

Chestang gave us some idea of what specific information should be included in HBSE courses. He spoke of the "terrain" of HBSE, which must include the study of human development and man's interaction with his environment.[3] He listed several specific topics. The terrain or content of HBSE is augmented by providing the more specific content of the nurturing environment. Thus HSBE courses need to supply the content on the terrain *and* the content on the nurturing environment providing the cultural perspective. The following table illustrates this:

TABLE 1

Terrain of HBSE Content	*Perspective of Nurturing Environment*
1. Development of the human life cycle, i.e. people's basic needs and drives related to life stages.	1. History of the group.
2. Role of the environment on	2. Social and psychological values.
a. the life cycle.	3. Acculturation processes experienced.
b. reaction to stress.	4. Racial and ethnic experiences.
c. ways in which people cope.	5. Socioeconomic experiences.

The categories in either column are not meant to be exhaustive. They are intended to be illustrative of the general areas of knowledge usually included. Specific organization of the HBSE content and selection of approaches and theories to be used will depend on the individual instructor and the particular course focus. The point being stressed here is that in order for the HBSE courses to incorporate the dual perspective, knowledge on the nurturing environment must be included, which can take many forms of organization depending on the minority or ethnic group being considered.

In order to illustrate the dual perspective, the two columns in Table 1 must be linked. Accordingly, the specific cultural perspective content adds dimension to the use and understanding of the HBSE content. For example, the history of Blacks as slaves and their subsequent exclusion from many socioeconomic opportunities in the United States have influenced both the economic base of the Black family and the coping patterns within the family. The experiences of American Indians confined to reservations have similarly had a great deal of influence on how they react to stress. Understanding of the HBSE content is increased and modified through the knowledge of the nurturing environment.

Analysis of an HBSE Course Using the Dual Perspective: Race, Poverty, and Human Development

BY DOLORES G. NORTON

The material presented next is on a Race, Poverty, and Human Development course taught by the author at the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. The HBSE content includes the cycle of human development, with emphasis on the physical, social, emotional, and cognitive aspects of the individual. The theoretical framework used for the course is based on the work of theorists such as Erikson, Mead, Piaget, and Lewin. The perspective of the nurturing environment draws attention to the effect of race and socioeconomic status in the United States on human development in terms of enhancing or hindering optimum human potential. The nurturing environment is provided by studying various definitions and meanings of race anthropologically, biologically, and socially. For example, brief histories of Blacks and Asian Americans in the United States add to the social and economic definitions of race of these groups. Definitions of poverty, its extent, and its social and psychological meanings are explored. The human development life cycle and the needs at each life stage are constantly examined in terms of the variables of race and poverty.

Earlier we stressed that students cannot develop the dual perspective with only a theoretical and intellectual understanding of minority differences, but rather that it has to be encouraged through experiential learning. This learning takes place when all levels of human experience are operating simultaneously. It involves consciousness within a structure of learning guided by a specific goal orientation. Torbert defined experiential learning in a similar manner to the dual perspective when he stated that the levels of experiential learning must include the world outside, one's own behavior, and one's cognitive structure and consciousness.[4] He stressed that although students are operating through a cognitive emotional framework, they must maintain an inner sense of alternative frameworks.

In the course presented here, the experiential learning is operationalized through an "experiential thrust" in which there is an attempt to help the students apply the theoretical material from the HBSE terrain and the nurturing perspective to reality situations with which they can identify. Assignments are given in which the students are asked to examine their own feelings about the situation. Case material from the students' own fieldwork or major areas of interest, role playing, and the assignment of novels and autobiographies are all utilized to involve the class on more than an intellectual level. If there has been identification with a client, community program, group, or central character of a novel, students can begin to "feel" and "know" some of the factors that they

have understood cognitively as these apply to reality. The situation has become "real" for the students and they will have begun to use the dual perspective.

Brief Course Description

The course attempts to provide knowledge on the physical, emotional, social, and cognitive aspects of human development as they are affected by race and poverty. It reviews human development from the prenatal period through young adulthood. The physical and social definitions of race and the history and forms of racism are studied and discussed in regard to their effect on human development. Poverty and its social and psychological meanings are studied and applied to the various stages of human development. The theories of Erikson, Mead, Piaget, and others are used to discuss human development. Although an eclectic theoretical approach is used, a conscious effort is made to have students move beyond a cognitive understanding of the effect of race and poverty on human development, and experience the reality of another perspective possibly different from their own. The dual perspective and its underlying rationale is presented early in the course and used throughout to illustrate understanding of the interaction between the immediate environmental system and that of the larger society.

Much of social work practice takes place with various racial or ethnic groups, and with the poor. This type of practice should reflect understanding of people of varying racial backgrounds, and of the various types of coping that must be done without money in a moneyed society. It is hoped that sensitivity and knowledge of the effect of race and poverty on human development will aid the social worker to evaluate more accurately where the major stress lies and lead to more effective interventive action at the most appropriate level.

Specific Objectives

Specific course objectives are:

1. To increase knowledge of the human developmental system, physically, socially, emotionally, and cognitively, and to understand its relation to the environmental system of the human organism.
2. To increase knowledge of race, racism, and poverty.
3. To examine specifically how race and poverty affect the human developmental life cycle.
4. To provide the opportunity to develop conscious awareness of the student's own value system, especially when it differs from that of the group being studied.

It is hoped that if these objectives are accomplished and applied to practice, it will lead to better understanding and more effective intervention whether working with individuals, families, groups, or communities; making policy; or conducting research.

Unit I—Human Development

The objectives of this unit are (1) to present material on the development of the individual as the result of the interaction between basic genetic characteristics and the social and physical environment, and (2) to increase awareness that genetic potential can be fostered or constrained by our life experiences. This unit attempts to give the students a general orientation to human development and its relation to the environment that will provide a model to which the specific effects of race and poverty can be related in the next units.

The teaching methodologies used are:

1. Assigned theoretical readings.
2. Semi-lecture and discussion of a model of human development, details of which are handed out to the class.
3. Reading two novels (Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* and Miller's *The Cool World*[5]) that depict two adolescent boys from differing racial and socioeconomic status. Both books are narrated in the first person and both boys live in the New York urban area.
4. An assigned paper comparing the effect of race and socioeconomic status on the common needs of these two boys.

The specific content for this unit includes (1) the stages of human development from the prenatal stage through young adulthood and the growth in each physically, socially, emotionally, and cognitively, and (2) presentation of the dual perspective as a framework for understanding human development as it is affected by the interaction of the two systems. The need for understanding the variables of each system is stressed, and the implications for appropriate intervention explored.

Unit II—Race and Racism

The objective of this unit is to build upon the preceding unit by applying material on race and racism to the human developmental model and to develop an understanding of how race—given its social definition in the United States—can affect the human developmental life cycle.

The teaching methodologies used are:

1. Assigned theoretical reading.
2. Semi-lecture and discussion.
3. Structured discussion posed by the instructor on the effect of racism in the classroom among the social work students. Students are encouraged to candidly voice their feelings and fears in regard to present racial separatism existing in schools and in social work programs. The instructor must see that communication is facilitated and that no one is verbally attacked, and then pull the discussion together in terms of the dual perspective in the class.

The specific content for this unit includes:

1. Anthropological and social definitions of race.
2. Statistics on population size and distribution of racial minorities in the United States.
3. History of race and the development of racism in the United States. In the interest of time, only two groups are usually emphasized. These can be selected based on student interest in placement, the goal and geographic location of the school, the minority population in the area, and the expertise of the instructor.
   a. Asian Americans—history of Chinese and Japanese in the United States, especially in California and the West, early immigration and reasons, Chinese Exclusion Act, gentleman's agreement with Japan, and internment camps.
   b. Blacks—slave tradition and the subsequent systematic exclusion from societal institutions. Growth of discrimination and its social meaning to both Blacks and whites. Major laws and court decisions in regard to Blacks and the effect on Blacks.
   c. American Indians.
   d. Chicanos.
   e. Puerto Ricans.
4. Effect of race on human development. Review of research based on racial attitudes toward the self from earlier studies of the Clarks to the 1970s.[6] Cases and examples of the effect of race on human development using appropriate stages of the human developmental model. Current racial events are used to stress the reality factors, e.g. busing, racial incidents in neighborhood housing, etc.

Unit III—Poverty

The objective of this unit is to build on the first two by adding information on poverty to the human life cycle model, and superimposing the effects of race upon those of poverty. The teaching methodologies used are (1) assigned theoretical and other readings, (2) semi-lecture and discussion, and (3) a tape of an AFDC mother discussing her daily life.

The specific content for this unit includes:

1. Definition of poverty: absolute, relative, problems of measuring poverty.
2. Extent of poverty in the United States.
3. Brief review of historical assumptions about the poor from the pre-Elizabethan era to the present: poor law philosophy, Protestant ethic, doctrine of lesser eligibility, fallacy of the culture of poverty.
4. Social costs of poverty in terms of human interaction and development; possible functions of poverty in our society.[7]
5. Strategies to relieve poverty: children's allowances, negative income tax, social security programs, and public assistance.

Unit IV—The Development of Self and Race and Poverty

The objective of this unit is to present and discuss various theories and dynamics of how to develop the self and then to build on the previous units to

examine the possible effects of race and poverty on the development of self. The teaching methodologies used are (1) assigned theoretical readings and class discussion, and (2) administration and discussion of an exercise on Black, male, delinquent youth gang values. Each class member is asked to rank certain images in the order that he or she would predict a Black, male, delinquent youth gang member might. Previous work on Duke in *The Cool World* can be discussed.[8] The class is then asked to rate the same images as they value them.

The instructor analyzes these and in the next session presents the results of the class evaluations as compared with the key for the Chicago gang members (the test was administered to them on a Black-to-Black, one-to-one, peer-to-peer basis). Discussion centers around the dual perspective in regard to class understanding of the values of gang youth, and awareness of the similarities and differences between the class rankings and the gang rankings. Most students are startled to discover how close their values are to the gang's expressed values.

The specific content for this unit includes:

1. Survey of self-image literature in regard to racial groups, focusing especially on that of Blacks (from the Clark study to Taylor's analysis in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*[9]), with an emphasis that esteem is not totally dependent on the larger society, but is influenced by the nurturing society or that of the immediate generalized other.
2. Dynamics of the development of self within the dual perspective, using whatever theorists the instructor prefers. Mead and Erikson are used predominately in this particular course.
3. Dynamics of the development of self as affected by race and poverty.

Unit V—Social Group Environment and Race and Poverty

The objectives of this unit are to understand the importance of the influence of the social group environment on the individual and to examine the effects of race and poverty on the social group environment and the subsequent effect on the future of the individual.

The teaching methodologies used are (1) assigned theoretical readings and class discussion and (2) role playing with one's own color reversed. The minority students play the white role, and the white students play the minority role. The players discuss with the class their motivations for doing what they did, as well as why they decided not to behave in certain ways. The class members describe their observations and feelings as they observed and questioned the players. The dual perspective can be pointed out in the differing interpretations of the same behavior and the same words. The instructor sets the scene for the role playing with as much detail as is needed to bring out differing attitudes and values that will illustrate the dual perspective. Tightly structured scenes seem to help the players feel more comfortable and be more creative.

Examples of situations for role playing are:

1. A white and minority student (specify which minority) are sitting next to each other in a social work class waiting for the first session to begin and are trying to get acquainted. Remember that the white student is playing

the minority student and the minority student is playing the white student. After the role playing (these should be kept short—3 to 8 minutes—in order to permit full analysis), the players may be asked what topics came to mind that they avoided and why, as well as their responses to each other. The class is asked to react and to compare the observed behavior with their own feelings and what they think their behavior might have been. The discussion is constantly related to the dual perspective.

2. A white and minority parent are discussing busing. Both live in a suburban community and their children will be bussed into the city. The instructor can assign sex and age of the respective children for perspective. Possibilities for interpretation of the dual perspective are almost endless in the discussion that follows the role playing.

The specific content for this unit includes:

1. The importance of the nurturing system (the immediate group environment) on the individual's development and personality.
2. Kurt Lewin's "group-belonging" theories.[10]
3. Comparison of Lewin's "marginal man" concept to the dual perspective systems model where one world is embedded in the other and the individual is a part of both worlds.[11]
4. The social group environment related to race and poverty.

Notes

1. "Curriculum Policy for the Master's Degree Program in Graduate Schools of Social Work" (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1969), p. 2.
2. Guadalupe Gibson, comments at a Council on Social Work Education workshop on Integrating Minority Content into Social Work Education, Atlanta, Georgia, March 1974.
3. Leon Chestang, *ibid.*
4. William R. Torbert, *Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).
5. J.D. Salinger, *Catcher in the Rye* (New York: Little Brown, 1964); and W. Miller, *The Cool World* (New York: Fawcett Books, 1969).
6. See David J. Fox and Valerie B. Jordan, "Racial Preference and Identification of Black, American Chinese, and White Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Vol. 88 (1973), pp. 229-86; Judith Porter, *Black Child, White Child* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1970); and Ronald L. Taylor, "Psychosocial Development Among Black Children and Youth: A Reexamination," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 46 (January 1976), pp. 4-19.
7. Herbert J. Gans, "The Positive Functions of Poverty," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78 (September 1972), pp. 275-89.
8. Miller, *op. cit.*
9. Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie Clark, "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," in *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 551-60; and Taylor, *op. cit.*
10. Kurt Lewin and Gertrude Lewin, eds., *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper & Row, 1948).
11. *Ibid.*

4. Incorporating Content on Minority Groups into Social Work Practice Courses

The Dual Perspective

The development of competence in the practice of social work is a primary curriculum objective with the major goal to "understand the relation of knowledge, value, and skill to each other and their utilization in the appraisal of problems or situations for social work intervention and in the provision of professional service."[1] The goal then for social work education is training for effective intervention at some level in our pluralistic society. This goal can be met by educating social workers to meet the diverse needs of their total client population.

The idea of the dual perspective can be used to develop the active awareness and understanding of the uniqueness as well as the similarities of the life situation of the clients or group with whom the student is working. Simultaneously it can be used to foster awareness of the student's own values and reactions to the life situations and behavior of the client group. When added to objective knowledge of the dominant societal structure, these perspectives can be evaluated and a course of action decided upon and executed.

To recapitulate briefly, development of the dual perspective for practice requires first a mind-set of consciously reversing thought. One is always looking for points of conflict or congruence with the dominant society. The process requires knowledge of the dominant society and awareness of one's own values and attitudes. Thus the second requirement of the dual perspective is specific, objective, documented knowledge to guide the activities of the mind-set. The knowledge must be valid or the social worker will be in danger of stereotyping despite the attempt to use the dual perspective.

The Practicum

An integrative approach should be used in teaching social work practice, through which knowledge and awareness of minority content acquired in other areas of the curriculum can be used in formulating intervention. The task is immense because of the difficult linkage between knowledge and action. The practicum—long accepted as a major part of the social work curriculum—

serves as the major link between the field and the classroom. The two should build upon and feed each other. Gibson called this the "spiral system" in which knowledge flows back and forth between the field and the classroom.[2] The life styles, culture, behavior, and values of the community as observed in the field can be discussed and compared to what is taught in the classroom. The constant flow and resulting modification of this knowledge as it is evaluated should develop a valid body of knowledge upon which to build assessment and consequent intervention. Knowledge and understanding from both systems can become modified and influenced by the other, creating fuller understanding and more effective action.

Use of unit meetings when a group of students has a common placement in a minority community is one method of continuing the spiral between classroom and field. A variety of techniques can be used in these units, such as comparing formal knowledge against experiences in the community, using the dual perspective to compare a specific behavior in the community against the student's own behavior in such circumstances, making a systematic study of the institutions of the community and the roles they play in the community's life, and having people in to talk about various aspects of the community from their particular perspective. The latter is particularly important. Students should hear varying points of view from the same minority group in order to illustrate the fact that no one group is monolithic in thought or behavior.

The impact of the minority system on the student is a good focus for teaching the dual perspective, especially in supervision. A part of the students' orientation process in a minority community should include exploration of their fears, concern for their safety, and their need for acceptance in the community as well as any hostile feelings in regard to the minority community. The motivations of nonminority students who aggressively seek out practice with minority groups should be explored. If they are meeting some personal need of their own, they should be aware of it. Minority students should have the experience of working with a group, person, or community of a different minority than themselves. This is particularly helpful in developing the dual perspective, since they may become aware of the stereotypes they hold of other minority groups despite being a member of a minority group themselves. Non-white students also should have some white clients.

As the students become involved with the minority community and begin to identify with it, they usually experience situations in which they become aware of social work's low status on the totem pole of authority. Students experiencing this impotence can easily learn the sense of powerlessness of many minority groups: use of the dual perspective is particularly helpful in accomplishing this. Yet the students cannot be permitted to be content with understanding the feeling of powerlessness and accepting it. They also should examine the limits and possibilities of their role and authority in a systematic way. With a thorough knowledge of agency or institutional policy and procedure they may find ways to expand their authority.

Before we leave the use of the dual perspective in developing student awareness, we should discuss the different orientations of the students

themselves. Minority students are likely to have a very different perspective from nonminority students. For example, Black students may perceive themselves as being received by the faculty, agency, and community differently from the reception accorded to white students—which may be the case. They may feel that risks are higher for them if they criticize than for white students. Instructors have to be aware of this possible difference in orientation and be prepared to help the student evaluate these realistically and determine a course of action. If the student is in direct treatment, the concepts of transference and countertransference could be helpful in illustrating the dual perspective. Minority students also need to be helped when their energy becomes diverted because of anger in response to racism. Is their energy spent "Don Quixote-like" tilting at insurmountable odds to the detriment of their work? Or can their energies be channeled into realistic and effective action that might hold some hope for change without "cooling the student out?"

Communication in Practice

It is not within the scope of this chapter to teach communication theory, even though most social workers recognize its importance. But it should be noted that knowledge and understanding can only come about through some manner of communication, and this becomes a major priority in working with minority populations because there is a great risk of its not being present. It is immediately obvious that language itself can be a communication barrier in working with some minority groups, and practice with these groups requires bilingual social workers.

It is not immediately obvious, however, that linguistically trained interpreters and social workers cannot always understand the underlying meanings of the nurturing culture. Gibson has suggested that in some Latino communities a barrio language exists that is neither totally Spanish nor English.[3] One must have knowledge of the culture of the barrio if one is to understand the nuances of some of the words. This situation is not always limited to a recognizable language difference. The Baratzs, who are cultural linguists, have written on the "ghetto specific language of some Blacks as opposed to standard English."[4] Although many of the words appear to be the same, some meanings are different and a slight change in the form of a word can change its meaning. "Signifying" or telegraphing feelings through words and gestures is an old Black custom that can enhance communication or confuse it depending on the person who is on the receiving end. Although the social worker may not be able to understand totally what is meant, even an awareness that something is going on that is not understood is movement in the right direction. Social workers often have to continue their work knowing that there is a gap in their knowledge or that something has happened that they did not comprehend. Communication is fostered by a knowledge of the range of life styles or circumstances of the group they are working with.

Social work has tended to rely on verbal skills not only to share feelings, but because conceptualizations for assessment and problem solving lend them-

selves to verbal and written definitions. Students need to learn a variety of ways of communicating with minority community members other than formal interviewing. These can only be gained from "knowing" the community in as complete a sense as possible. This knowledge of custom and practice is gained through the community as well as the classroom.

The burden for communicating when there is a language difference should not rest with the client. The worker is responsible for obtaining a suitable interpreter, and bilingual children of the family are not suitable interpreters. This has nothing to do with their intellectual abilities, but revolves around respect for the adult client, the place of children in the family culturally and emotionally, and general respect for the family interaction. Parental confidentiality may be violated if a child serves as interpreter, and certain topics that may have important nuances of understanding may be lost.

A last word of caution is necessary in regard to communication and interpreters. The worker should relate to the client, and not to the translator. No matter how skillful the worker finds the interpreter, the interaction should always be with the client. Nothing can be more destructive to clients than when they are made to feel like objects, talked about and through.

Flexibility of Practice

Social work can be described as a multimethod practice based on borrowing from many disciplines. Teaching flexibility in the selection and use of techniques and skills is highly important to students working with minority groups. We have already stressed the importance of teaching many theories of human behavior and practice models. Students must learn how to make critical choices in the use of any theory or model. The dual perspective can help them in making these critical choices by forcing them to devote their attention to a particular situation and to themselves in an experiential way that tends to lessen any tendency to follow favorite trends. They are then more apt to have a clearer assessment of where the major stress lies and use the required intervening techniques. For example, a preference toward brief or short-term treatment may be antagonistic to the needs of some minority clients whose situational conditions are nonsupportive and whose problems will be chronic until structural conditions are changed. Some models limit the flexibility needed, such as the medical model, which often stresses the individual as the target for change. The dual perspective can lead to a process of assessment that systematically includes examination of the dominant environmental and institutional factors as well as any factors associated with client stress that are within the nurturing environment. This can lead to larger systems as targets for change.

Much of the literature in social work education in regard to work with minorities stresses the importance of the advocacy and change-agent roles for the social worker. Advocacy has been defined as the conscientious use of self to assist clients to identify alternate strategies for change. It is related to another concept that comes from the literature on minorities, that of empowerment. This

is the concept of helping clients to *do* for themselves. Advocacy and empowerment are much closer in definition than it would seem at first glance, since advocacy involves a professional speaking for a client, group, or community and empowerment means that they speak for themselves with professional support.

"Empowerment," "liberation," and "consumerism" (clients have a right to determine what the services will be) as terms are relatively new to the social work arena,[5] and older practitioners will ask how they differ from the concept of self-determination and other social work values. This source book cannot engage in that discussion except to say that many minority practitioners and educators prefer these words and are able to teach effectively using them. They convey a certain autonomy and dignity that must be taken into consideration by the larger society, since they have meaning to those using them. Although similar, many of the concepts appear to have a slightly different thrust when defined from a minority perspective. If the process of the dual perspective in evaluating from both the nurturing environment and the dominant environment is followed, one will gain a clearer awareness of these concepts from the point of view of both systems. Assessment and choice of techniques for intervention will be based on a comprehensive understanding. Even the empowerment model that seems to be supported in the literature on minorities should not be selected without full and accurate assessment of the total situation, using the dual perspective.

Example of Method Course Material

The course material presented next is intended as an example of how content on minorities can be included in a practice course. The objectives are clearly stated and creative experiential techniques are described. Brown's selection of material is in keeping with our earlier statement that no school can adequately include content on all minority groups. Each school will have to decide which groups it will focus upon, based on its mission, its geographic location, and the minority composition of its student body and faculty.

Minority Content in the First-Year Practice Course

BY EDWIN GARTH BROWN

Course Description

This course is intended to provide students with a theoretical frame of reference for combining casework, groupwork, and community organization methods into a solution-seeking approach to practice. The problem-solving process is

shown to be common to all practice methods. A generalist assessment is used to determine the appropriate levels of intervention concentration. Specific models or approaches to practice are used to plan practice interventions and practice is examined across the beginning, middle, and termination phases. Examples from the practicum are drawn upon to illustrate the application of theory. A communications laboratory is used to teach specific skills in the facilitative characteristics of conveyed empathy, positive regard, and authenticity. Special units of instruction are included for adapting practice to work with ethnic minority populations and to enhance worker self-awareness vis-à-vis ethnic minorities. Relationship theory is also presented.

This course is a basic methods course that provides students with a rationale for practice and assists them in the development of skills. It supports and makes cognitive the learning that takes place in the practicum and attempts to address the need for a holistic view of the problems people experience in order to bring the appropriate methods to bear on the solutions. It assists students in selecting a method concentration in which to specialize in their second year of training. The units on ethnic minority content are intended to provide experiential learning that will lead to increased self-awareness, the application of ethnic minority content, and the adaptation of practice principles to the delivery of services to different populations.

Rationale for Inclusion of Units on Ethnic Minority Content

A systematic review of the curricula for the first-year practice methods courses at the University of Utah Graduate School of Social Work revealed that only sporadic and tangential use was made of ethnic minority content. Thus it was decided that minority content needed to be related to the major objectives and concepts of a course. Several such concepts and objectives were specified and illustrative teaching outlines were drawn up. These materials were developed for use in the social work practice sequence of the first year of the master's program. It was apparent that minority content was present in the curriculum, but its use was limited and its relationship to social work practice was not always clear. This state of affairs was due perhaps to the lack of clearly defined educational objectives related to minority subject matter. Once objectives are explicated, the process of curriculum development naturally leads to deciding what content and learning experiences are required to attain them.

This systematic process did not seem to have taken place with regard to minority content. We decided to rectify this situation as it pertained to teaching minority content for the social work practice course (combined methods) and practicum (fieldwork). We attempted to do this by identifying specific student behavioral objectives related to social work practice and minority issues. Next, we selected the content and learning experiences needed to help the students acquire these behaviors.

Note that only units on ethnic minority content are presented here. They are sequenced throughout the course during the year, and become a part of the major concepts and practice principles of the methods course.

Specific Teaching Units of Minority Content

Individualization

The process of individualization is germane to social work practice. The steps of study, diagnosis, and treatment (assessment, intervention planning, and implementation) are based on this notion. Also, the social work value of the dignity and worth of individuals is made operational through efforts to individualize each practice situation. Depersonalization and anonymity are conditions of life imposed on people by urban living, by increased transiency and mobility, and by the complex organizational structures used to deliver services. The professions, with their orientation to helping the individual, are called upon to mitigate such negative forces.

Understanding the individual situation is a necessary point of departure in "beginning where the client is." Positive working relationships are predicated on the capacity of the social worker to "tune in" on the client. Relationship theory postulates personalized, cooperative associations among persons engaged in joint problem solving. Very often the issue for resolution in practice is the mediation of individual and collective wants and needs. This dynamic is a universal of life that can be solved only on an issue-by-issue basis for specific situations.

The minority position is one example of individual needs being affected by the will of the majority. The process of individualization needs to be applied consistently to ethnic minorities as a whole, as well as individually. Indeed the process of individualization may not be possible for ethnic minority persons if they are removed from the group. Prejudice is fostered through ignorance and generalizations that dehumanize a people or group. To know about people in detail and in their commonality with one's self, and to know them as persons are ways to overcome prejudice.[6] The concept of the dual perspective discussed earlier explicates this contention.

The learning objectives of this unit are: (1) to enable students to *illustrate* how knowledge and understanding of specific ethnic minority groups enhance the process of individualization in social work practice, and (2) to enable students to engage in seeking common objectives with persons from ethnic minority groups.

The learning experiences of this unit involve the following:

1. Show students pictures of persons, including individuals of ethnic minority origin, and have them write their impressions of each. Then read a dialogue individualizing each person shown. Have students write their second impressions, and discuss the answers in terms of changes, additions, alterations, and perceptions. Discuss how increased individualization affected their answers. Relate this to Allport.[7]
2. Invite ethnic minority individuals of equal or higher socioeconomic status to speak on a topic of common interest (not racial subjects). If such persons are not available, substitute the writings of ethnic minority leaders on a

topic of common concern. Have the pictures of the authors displayed and discuss the ideas presented.

3. Role play a scene from the life of a person from an ethnic minority. For example: an immigrant (Chicano) who is spending his first day trying to get work, or on the job. Or portray a Black person who tries to obtain a room in a motel in the face of the desk clerk's refusal when both know that rooms are available. Examine the feelings experienced.
4. Engage the class in assessing an ethnic minority client's problem, using their existing knowledge about the minority group. Discuss the results. Have the class research the culture of the client and then reassess the same material. Discuss the changes in their assessment. A guest from the culture of the client may be invited to elaborate further on the accuracy of the understanding and application of the cultural materials.
5. Discuss the topic of assessment (diagnosis) as an essential component in social work problem solving. Emphasize that each assessment is a form of individualization. Discuss the various frames of reference that are used for making an assessment, how they guide perceptions, and how they influence the selection of data gathered, thinking, and conclusions. Discuss various models for assessment, noting additions, adaptations, etc. that must be made when being applied to a minority situation.

The content is comprised of culture and ethnic culture, prejudice per se, assessment, and individualization.

Differences

How one responds to those who are different or who are perceived to be different from oneself is important information for social work students and practitioners. One's understanding of differences and one's comfort with them affects the professional use of self. Genuineness, warmth, and communicated empathy are essential components of growth-producing relationships.[8] Acknowledging and accepting differences of ethnic minority persons and their circumstances can enhance the practitioner's relationship capacities in work with minority persons and groups. Again, the dual perspective can be utilized to elaborate this concept and to demonstrate the dynamics experienced because of inability to tolerate differences.

The learning objectives of this unit are:

1. To enable students to distinguish their own value system.
2. To enable students to become conscious of how their value system influences their thinking, decision making, and actions in particular situations, especially with ethnic minorities.
3. To enable students to make conscious use of self-information about differences they encounter in others and their circumstances.

The learning experiences of this unit involve the following:

1. Students will be taught communication skills dealing with self-awareness. Specifically, they will be taught to tune in on the following sources of self-information: their senses, their thoughts, their feelings, and their actions or expressions. This will be done in a laboratory format.
2. The sources of self-information will be used by students to respond to a series of slides presenting people and circumstances that are both similar to and different from them. Discussion will focus on positive and negative reactions and how these would influence their association and work with the persons portrayed.
3. The sources of self-information will then be used to analyze student contacts with persons in their practicum assignments. Sharing experiences will take place, accompanied by discussion intended to develop connections between self-awareness and practice principles, especially those concerned with relationship and the professional use of self.
4. The sources of self-information will then be used to identify personal values of students. The following format will be used:
   a. Engage groups in developing a working definition of value (their own, the group's).
   b. Have group members identify "concepts of the desirable" that they consider most important in relation to the family. Have each member list five basic family values. Discuss differences and similarities and their implications for work with families.
   c. Read a vignette or story to the group in which a person makes choices and the consequences are apparent. (Use both ethnic minority and nonminority examples.) Identify and discuss major values that are affected by the decisions made in the story. (1) How important are the values identified to the person in the story? (2) What values conflict with one another? (3) How do the various alternatives for action affect the person's values? (4) What possible outcomes could result from each action and how certain are these outcomes? (5) How do short-term benefits compare with long-term benefits? From this exercise, help the group develop a list of important factors that must be considered in examining relationships among values, actions, and outcomes. (This list defines, operationally, what it means to be aware of one's values.)
   d. Have group members write a decision-making situation from their own life. Have them recapture the moment and tune in on important self-information by analyzing the event using the five sources of self-information and then writing their answers. Then have them list the various alternatives to the situation with their associated consequences. Ask students to review all they have written and extrapolate the values inherent in the situation and the alternative solutions. Share and discuss with the whole group.

The Concept of Power in Social Work

Power is a concept that is applicable to social work practice. It is particularly useful in assessing the prospects for planned change[9] (whether individual or

collective) and in designing plans for action. The sanctions associated with an agency relate to this dimension. Interpersonal conflict is often understood and resolved across the power elements involved. Even individuals strive to exert a force or effect on their surroundings through the push toward "effectance"—another expression of power. Social work is constantly concerned with the effects of power; whether it be its impact on people or whether it be with helping to increase the opportunities and the capacity of individuals for self-determination. Power is a concern of ethnic minority people, since many of their problems are associated with their powerless position. The minority situation therefore provides an important vantage point for the study of power as it relates to social work practice. The idea of the sustaining system and its relationship to the nurturing system of given populations gives added dimension to this unit.

The learning objectives of this unit are:

1. To enable students to assess the power forces involved in specific practice situations in their practicum.
2. To make students aware of the effects of power and of powerlessness on people and on their problem-solving capabilities.
3. To make students aware of and use the legal mechanisms of our society for checking power abuses and for giving people access to power that affects them personally.

The learning experiences of this unit involve the following:

1. Have students study the book *Black Power* and identify the key concepts.[10] Use these concepts as the frame of reference to analyze case materials from social work practice. Look for the power concerns and issues germane to the case. Discuss the effectiveness and relevancy of the interventions attempted (goals and actions taken) from a power-powerless viewpoint.
2. Engage students in the game, Simsoc.[11] Discuss the interactions and results of the game in terms of the conflicts generated and the power-powerlessness situations that evolved and relate these experiences to the minority position. Build on these impressionistic experiences by having the students study either Silberman's *Crisis in Black and White* or Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*.[12] Have them write a paper that elaborates on the Simsoc game and their experiential learnings by drawing upon the specified reading. The major theme of the paper should deal with environmental forces, opportunity, and power.
3. Analyze and discuss practice examples (including minority situations) using the force field model to identify the power forces involved. Have students develop strategies for shifting, overcoming, or aligning with the power forces in the interest of identified objectives.
4. Have students read Abe Fortas's *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience*.[13] Discuss the guaranteed rights of dissent. Use this knowledge to analyze examples of dissent from newspaper articles and practice. The use

of examples from past struggles (women's sufferage, the labor movement, etc.) could be introduced along with ethnic minority examples of today to show the application of the right to dissent for all citizens.

5. Have students study the sanctions and charges given to their fieldwork agency. Discuss these in terms of the consumers of services with special focus on power responsibilities of practitioners to the agency and change. Examine their decision-making alternatives and their ties with the social work profession. Introduce the concept of organizational change.

Practicum Workshops To Prepare Students for Work with Ethnic Minorities

Students encounter sizeable numbers of people from ethnic minority groups in their practicum. In some agencies they may work almost entirely with minorities and in minority communities. Preparation for entry into these specialized settings would be helpful to students personally and should increase their effectiveness in the delivery of social services.

The learning objective in this unit is to have students acquire self-awareness concerning their attitudes toward specific ethnic minorities and authoritarianism.

The learning experiences of this unit involve the following:

1. Preassess student attitudes toward ethnic minorities and authoritarianism. Use the results in planning additional workshop objectives and content. Postmeasure student attitudes toward ethnic minorities and authoritarianism to determine changes. Use the results to assist in the placement of students in the practicum and for following their progress.
2. Have the students read and study the writings of ethnic minority leaders on the subject of their oppression and the role of the dominant society regarding this oppression. Read selected statements to the workshop group, having them react to each statement by tuning in to the sources of self-information (senses, thoughts, feelings, intentions, and expressions). Have them write their answers on a note pad for a group-sharing and discussion session that will follow immediately. Discuss their reactions and answers in the context of social work practice articles on the subject of relationship, communication, and work with ethnic minority persons.
3. Use videotapes, recordings, or in-person confrontations by ethnic minority persons questioning the motivations and intentions of the students in working with them. Have students write their answers and then share and discuss them. Repeat the confrontations and have the students respond orally. The oral responses may be videotaped or audiotaped for feedback and discussion.
4. Have students listen to tape recordings and videotapes of persons from ethnic minorities with whom they will be working. Have them write what they *heard*. Discuss the answers and correct the misinterpretations, then replay. Repeat the above until a satisfactory accuracy level is achieved. During the discussion, note pronunciations, rates of speech, colloquial-

isms, etc. The recordings should include a variety of persons, e.g., young, old, female, male, limited education, excited, calm.

5. Have students read about the culture of the ethnic persons they will encounter in the practicum. Films also may be used. Discuss as a group—with an emphasis directed to new information gained—stereotypes that were altered, feelings experienced, and implications for work and association with that minority group. Consult a person from that minority in choosing the selections to be read.
6. Conduct a field trip in the community. Engage students in the daily routines and experiences. Prepare them for this by identifying specific things to observe and do. Have a discussion with members of the community present to correct and elaborate upon the perceptions and experiences of the students.

The learning experiences in this course force the students to look consciously for points of conflict or congruence with the specific minority group and the larger society. This can lead to the more valid assessment and intervention that the dual perspective seeks.

Notes

1. "Curriculum Policy for the Master's Degree Program in Graduate Schools of Social Work" (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1969), p. 3.
2. Guadalupe Gibson, comments at a Council on Social Work Education workshop on Integrating Minority Content into Social Work Education, Atlanta, Georgia, March 1974.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Stephen Baratz and Joan Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism," *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 40 (February 1970), pp. 29-50.
5. Gwendolyn Gilbert, "Counseling Black Adolescent Parents," *Social Work*, Vol. 19 (January 1974), p. 88.
6. Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (New York: Doubleday, 1958), chap. 16.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Charles Truax and Kevin M. Mitchell, "Research on Certain Therapist Interpersonal Skills in Relation to Process and Outcome," in *Handbook of Psychotherapy and Behavior Change*, ed. A.E. Bergin and Sol L. Garfield (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1971).
9. Kurt Lewin's force field model is a useful tool for this approach. See Bennis, Benne, and Chin, eds., *The Planning of Change*, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), pp. 328-335.
10. Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power* (New York: Vintage Press, 1967).
11. William A. Gamson, *Simsoc: Simulated Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1972).
12. Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964); Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971).
13. Abe Fortas, *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience* (New York: Signet Books, 1968).

5. The Dual Perspective and Social Welfare Policy Courses

The Council on Social Work Education's curriculum statement emphasizes that social welfare policy and service courses be taught with the goal of having the student understand the relevant issues and services in social welfare, develop an ability to evaluate these issues and services, and be prepared professionally to participate in efforts toward change where appropriate. "Opportunity should be provided all students to acquire knowledge of the general policies, conditions, legislative bases, institutions, programs, and broad range of services relevant to social welfare in contemporary society. . . . The major aims of study pertinent to social welfare policy and services are to prepare professionals to act as informed and competent practitioners in providing services, and as participants or leaders in efforts to achieve desirable change."[1] The dual perspective is particularly needed if these goals are to be realized in regard to minorities. Knowledge of general welfare policies, social conditions, legislative actions, and social programs is usually taught with regard to the dominant society. Incorporation of the dual perspective would broaden the scope of the courses so that they would deal with the same information in terms of minority groups as well.

Social policies do not affect all groups equally in terms of services or degree of impact. In analyzing policy that must be applied to a diverse society, the analyst must be aware of this inequality. Certain patterns in the deployment of resources, as well as certain legislative and administrative decisions, place heavier burdens on minorities than on the general population. For example, the decision to tolerate a 5 percent unemployment rate nationally has meant that young, urban, Black males frequently have an unemployment rate of over 30 percent. Without knowledge of the specific manpower patterns and policies in the area, the characteristics of the minority group, and other factors that can be compared with the dominant society, there is a strong possibility that the extent of the disadvantage to the minority groups will not be recognized. The social worker cannot be expected to participate in efforts toward changing those barriers that foster inequality and place heavier burdens on minority groups without this perception of the situation.

The components of the dual perspective should help lead workers to a recognition of the institutional disadvantages directed toward individuals because they belong to a certain group. Often these barriers are not easily isolated unless the reversible mind set of the dual perspective pushes social

workers to switch constantly between the clients' attitudes and values, their own attitudes and values, and those of the dominant society, and evaluate all of them against their knowledge of the minority group in question. It is only then that some of the restrictive institutional functioning against minorities will become apparent.

Language and its relationship to minority groups illustrates this process. We have already mentioned Cafferty's study on the need for bilingualism among Puerto Ricans because of their periodic return migration to their home island. Thus their language needs in regard to a second language may be different from other immigrant groups, in which the second generation has a great desire to assimilate. Cafferty concluded that a monolingual education is not adequate for Puerto Rican children in American schools and that bilingual programs must be part of their normal education. She reached this conclusion through specific knowledge of the ties and patterns of the nurturing society of the Puerto Ricans on the mainland. Knowledge of the dominant societal thrust toward monolingualism compared with this information would force the social worker to a conclusion that takes the duality into account.[2]

Another example of language, minorities, and social policy that is even less obvious involves Blacks. Baratz discovered that the word "building" is used only as a noun and not as a gerund in many Black, lower socioeconomic urban communities. Thus small children can understand the statement "This is a building," since the word is used as a noun. However, they have trouble with the statement "The men are building," in which it is used as a gerund. One reading test given to kindergarten children has a series of pictures—one of which depicts a group of men with hammers and saws. The children were asked, "Which men are building?" They had difficulty answering and thus lost points in the intellectual placement sweepstakes for first grade. This is no trivial matter, considering our current practice of testing to determine all kinds of placements, which determine rewards and penalties. If the children had been asked "Which men are making a building?" Baratz pointed out that they probably would have been able to answer correctly.[3] If questions of this type occur often in the testing procedure, the educational testing policy is not meeting the needs of the children it serves, and is also penalizing them by not helping them to demonstrate their full potential.

Again we stress that practice of the dual perspective is not an easy task. The kind of specialized linguistic knowledge learned from the work of Cafferty and Baratz is hard to come by. However, the importance cannot be overstressed of reading valid texts, studies, and novels, and visiting and participating in the community of the group with which the social worker is involved.

Social Welfare Policy Courses and Minority Groups

The preceding sections have attempted to define and illustrate the dual perspective. This section will provide specific course content and perspectives on various minority groups: Asian Americans, Blacks, Latinos, and American Indians. Each of the courses has an introductory statement as well as course

goals, giving perspectives that are clearly ethnocentric in order to broaden the awareness of the reader. Each course has been developed by a social work educator who is a member of the minority group under discussion. In most cases their perceptions are not idiosyncratic but represent the thinking of others in their group who are engaged in the practice and teaching of social work. Thus even though the reader may not be in agreement with their ideas, their perceptions must be taken into account and evaluated. The important substantive content is included, but the goal here is to have the source book show how the dual perspective can be put into practice, by presenting to the reader the perspective of the instructor creating the course.

Each course covers a separate minority group. Thus none illustrates our ultimate goal, which calls for incorporating minority content into the social work curriculum, not specific courses. Francis' course on Blacks does give a chronological, issue-oriented outline into which information on other groups can be fitted. Depending upon which group is being studied, the chronology may need to be altered. However, the other courses are limited to a specific minority. They serve the purpose of the dual perspective in that they provide some information on minority educators' thinking, provide knowledge on the minority group, and hopefully contribute to the sensitivity and awareness of the reader.

However, the ultimate purpose of the courses presented is to provide specific knowledge and perspectives on these minority groups that can be incorporated into already established courses. This does not mean an artificial hour on social policy for the Asian Americans. Rather, it means that the appropriate material on the relevant minority groups should be incorporated where it belongs in the overall content and format of the reader's own courses. For example, if the instructor is studying federal legislation affecting social welfare in regard to immigrants in the United States, he or she would certainly need to include the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and its effect on Asian Americans that Kenji Murase describes in his course.

Ramon Valle, in his course on a polycultural social policy curriculum from the Latino perspective, stresses another use of the dual perspective in social policy curriculum and practice. Frequently human service delivery systems are imposed on clients and communities without knowledge of the informal self-help resources that already exist in the community. Such delivery systems can tend to break down indigenous coping mechanisms rather than supporting and building upon them. The dual perspective asks social planners to incorporate appropriate minority paradigms in their programs.

Eddie Frank Brown's course on American Indians echoes a similar theme. He points out the importance of historical tribal treaties from the American Indian perspective in interactions with American society. He concludes that recognition of this legal relationship should take precedence over moral obligation in the development of policy and programs for American Indians. Use of the dual perspective forces the policy maker to address the parallel historical and current aspects of social welfare systems in the ethnic frames of reference, such as the Latino self-help system and the American Indian tribal treaties. The dual

perspective can be used to revise social welfare policy curriculum to incorporate these parallel social welfare systems into the conventional curriculum.

Social Welfare Policy and Services: Asian Americans

BY KENJI MURASE

Introduction

With reference to Asian Americans, this source book is intended to correct certain misconceptions and misleading assumptions that have been fostered by the current fashion in social work education to recognize the importance of the ethnic-cultural dimensions of American society. For example, along with the perception of the heterogeneity of our society as between the white and nonwhite populations, there has been a tendency to assume a homogeneity among the various ethnic communities that make up the nonwhite population. In directing attention to Asian Americans, we are attempting to delineate a significant ethnic minority population that hitherto has been largely neglected or overlooked in considering the nonwhite sector of our society. Indeed, as will be shown, the concept of Asian American itself is in need of further explication in terms of its component populations.

Further, this source book represents an acknowledgement that commitment to the concept of ethnic pluralism requires that we look to the minority communities to define the Asian-American experience, the Black experience, the Latino experience, and the American Indian experience, each from their own perspective. This means that for social work education to be authentic and applicable to the needs of minority communities, the conceptual definitions and program implementation must involve the participation of the minority communities concerned. This means that we must look to Asian-American communities for their definition of the Asian experience in America from their own perspective, for their articulation of the survival needs of their communities, and for their perceptions of the posture, strategy, and actions necessary for their own liberation and enhancement. It is in this spirit that the materials which follow are derived from the perspective and the definitions of Asian Americans with respect to their own problems, needs, resources, and aspirations.

Objectives

The dual perspective as outlined earlier in this book provides a useful conceptual framework for considering the Asian situation in America. The

Asian experience provides a cogent illustration of the thesis that the minority person is a part of two systems—that of the larger dominant society and that of the immediate, indigenous family and community. Thus the Asian American perceives and experiences the majority environment as a hostile environment that does not tolerate cultural plurality or cultural parity, which defines standards of normality and categorizes cultural differences as deviancy or abnormality, which imposes certain behavioral expectations on all people and penalizes those who do not meet them, and which, while holding out the value and rewards of assimilation, at the same time imposes insuperable barriers to assimilation.

The dual perspective, when applied to the history of Asians in America, can provide a basis for assessment and understanding the profound impact of historical antecedents upon the current status and role of Asians in American society. By illuminating the incongruence and points of conflict between the dominant society's perception and treatment of Asians, and the Asian's struggles and contributions to the economic development of the West, the dual perspective serves to sharpen awareness of the historical sources of inequity for minority groups. Through a study of the Asian experience, the student will also recognize and comprehend the consequences of the dual system of relationships. On the one hand, the hostile character of the dominant system is operationalized through its institutions, including those that provide social services. This institutionalized hostility is manifested in the delivery of social services that are essentially (1) remedial in character, that is, based on assumptions that consumers of services are deviant or pathological and must therefore be "rehabilitated" or made to conform to norms of behavior as defined by dominant white, middle-class values, (2) residual in scope and therefore insufficient in both quantity and quality, and (3) intended to perform a social control function aimed at the regulation of behavior, as well as a socialization function aimed at inducing behavior in conformity to the white, middle-class model. On the other hand, the dual perspective also should provide students with an appreciation and understanding of the Asian-American response to the institutionalized hostility of the dominant society. As will be shown in the following material, Asian Americans have continued to preserve their own indigenous support systems for mutual aid and comfort or have created their own alternative system of bilingual-bicultural social services.

In terms of social work practice with Asian Americans, the student using the dual perspective learns to identify possible sources of alienation, tensions, and stresses, and can plan accordingly for more effective intervention. When operating from the dual perspective, the social worker is not as likely to locate the source of dysfunction within the individual client as to look for the existence of structural barriers that the dominant system has erected against the individual and other group members. The social worker is thus armed with a knowledge of both the values, aspirations, and life style of the minority group, and the socioeconomic and political barriers erected by the dominant society. Motivated and informed by awareness and knowledge acquired through the dual perspective, the social worker's strategy and actions then can be directed to

the removal of those socioeconomic and political barriers that create and perpetuate conditions of injustice and inequity for minorities.

Organization of Teaching Materials

The materials that follow present the outlines for five teaching units with a specific focus upon Asian Americans. The units are designed to be incorporated into existing courses in the areas of social welfare history, social welfare policy, the organization and delivery of social services, race relations, ethnicity or ethnic minority communities, and seminars on social welfare issues or problems. The materials from one to as many as all five of the units may be integrated into a given course. It is recognized that with the exception of a few schools which serve predominantly Asian-American communities, there would be insufficient educational justification for a course to be devoted solely to Asian-American concerns.

Each unit is planned to provide the substance for a two-hour class. Ideally the five units should be taught in sequence, but each can be taught independently of the other units.

The content for each of the units is derived from the history, experience, and status of Asian Americans and their relationship to social welfare policy and services. The materials draw upon both what has been written about the Asian-American situation and what has been experienced by Asians but not necessarily chronicled. The difficulty is that sources of organized knowledge about Asian Americans are relatively limited in scope and depth. Moreover, much of this material is from non-Asian sources and reflects such biases and monolithic generalizations as to be either useless or pernicious. Therefore, non-Asian sources largely have been omitted. What remains is a comparatively small body of organized knowledge based on Asian sources that has been selected for its authenticity in characterizing Asian-American realities and perspectives.

Each of the teaching units that follow will specify learning objectives, and present a brief summary of the content area. Two also suggest a bibliography and teaching materials. The teaching units cover the following areas: a demographic profile of Asian Americans, Asians in American history, socioeconomic role and status of Asian Americans, delivery of social services to Asian-American communities, and culturally relevant social services and social work practice in Asian-American communities.

Unit I: A Demographic Profile of Asian Americans

Objectives

This introductory unit provides basic demographic data on Asian Americans. It delineates the various subgroupings of Asian communities and explicates their differential growth and expansion through varying rates of immigration. Differences in geographic distribution and dispersal patterns are noted and enclaves or concentrations of specific Asian populations are identified.

Summary of Content

The term "Asian American" generally includes the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Thais, and Vietnamese, as well as Pacific Island peoples such as Guamanians, Hawaiians, Philippinos,[4] and Samoans. The 1970 United States census reported that there were approximately 1.5 million Asian Americans, of whom there were 591,000 Japanese, 435,000 Chinese, and 343,000 Philippinos. While no count was made of Guamanians and Samoans, it is now estimated that there are between forty and fifty thousand. The significance of the 1970 census figures on the three major Asian populations is that their total number of 1,369,000 represented a 56 percent increase over the 1960 census figure, at a time when the overall United States population increased by only 13 percent.[5]

Most of the increase in the Asian population is attributable to immigration, particularly after the 1965 repeal of national quotas. During the five-year period, 1965-70, some 277,000 persons from Asia emigrated to the United States. In the subsequent three-year period, 1970-73, 270,000 migrated from Asia, and the rate of immigration has been increasing steadily. Philippinos now constitute the largest ethnic group emigrating to the United States, and if their current rate is maintained, by 1980 they will become the largest Asian group, replacing the Japanese.

In terms of the rate of increase, however, Koreans have shown the greatest gain. Since 1965 the number of immigrants has grown more than tenfold, from 2,165 in 1965 to 28,000 in 1974. The 1970 census figure of 70,000 has now doubled, and in addition, another 87,000 migrated to the United States in the period 1970-74. If this rate of immigration is maintained, by 1980 there will be more than a quarter of a million Koreans and they would then become the fourth largest Asian group, overtaking the Hawaiian population.

Well over one-third of the Asian population live in California—39 percent of the Chinese, 36 percent of the Japanese, and 40 percent of the Philippinos. If one adds the persons of other Asian origin, there are at least 600,000 Asian Americans living in California. Another 25 percent of the three major Asian groups lives in Hawaii. About 81 percent of the Japanese and 74 percent of the Philippinos live in the Western United States. Only the Chinese have a large proportion of their population living outside of the West—27 percent in the Northeast, with 20 percent in New York State.

In certain cities and metropolitan areas, Asian Americans constitute a substantial proportion of the population. For example, in Honolulu, Asian Americans comprise 85 percent of the population; in San Francisco they are close to 15 percent; in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area they comprise nearly 4 percent; and in Boston, they are 2 percent. As a group, Asian Americans make up one of the most urban of any ethnic population, with 90 percent living in urban areas. The patterning of the population distribution shows distinct concentrations of certain Asian groups in major population areas: for example, Japanese in Honolulu and the Los Angeles area; the Chinese in San Francisco, New York, Boston, and Chicago; Philippinos in San Diego, San Francisco, and Norfolk; and Koreans in Los Angeles, Chicago, and the Washington, D.C. area.

Unit II: Asians in American History

Objectives

Having gained a basic introduction in Unit I to the origins, numbers, and locations of Asian Americans, students now should be ready to place Asian Americans within an historical context. Unit II provides an historical dimension to the dual perspective. The materials illustrate the point that in order to comprehend the contemporary problems of Asians in America, it is essential to understand their historical dimensions—to bring an understanding of the past to the effort to deal with problems of the present.

Social policy is concerned with social ends and the process of choosing among alternatives is central to its development. How the historical conjunction of socioeconomic and political forces intervene to influence the choice among alternatives in policy development is clearly illustrated in United States immigration policy with respect to Asians. Further, to the extent that public policy choices are based upon the prevailing current of values and beliefs and on the balance between reason and political compromise, the example of United States immigration policy in regard to Asians provides a cogent lesson.

When teaching about racism as a central influence in shaping the status and role of ethnic minority groups in American society, the Asian experience in America serves as an illuminating case in point. The importance of Asians in this context is that their migration to this country marked the beginnings of what may be called "modern" institutional racism in America. Asians represented neither an indigenous people to be conquered, as in the case of American Indians, nor a people forcibly removed from their homeland to build the economic foundations of a racist society, as in the case of Black Americans. As Asians could not be justifiably enslaved or put away on reservations (except for the war-time internment of Japanese Americans) there developed a form of segmented or partial institutionalized racism that influenced nearly all aspects of the lives of Asian immigrants and their descendants. The consequences of this process for the Chinese and Japanese were the survival and perpetuation of the Asian ghetto as the urban successor to the plantations of Black Americans and the reservations of American Indians.

Summary of Content

Asian Americans emigrated to the United States at different periods. The Chinese immigration began in the 1850s and reached a peak in the 1890s. The Japanese started arriving in significant numbers in the 1880s and continued in increasing numbers until their exclusion in 1924. Philippinos came in two distinct waves, in the 1920s and after 1965. Large-scale emigration of Koreans began in the early 1900s to Hawaii, then subsided and revived in 1965. In each case exclusionary immigration laws and other discriminatory legislation served to prohibit or deter the flow.[6]

Although the arrival of Asian Americans in the United States occurred at different times, the basic motivation for their emigration appears to have been a common response to internal problems of political unrest or repression, lack of economic and educational opportunities, and problems related to density of

population in their respective home countries. For the most part the early Asian immigrants were young, single males from rural areas who were driven to seek their fortunes abroad. In many cases they were lured by labor contractors, steamship companies, and economic interests actively recruiting cheap labor to work in the mines and fields of California and the plantations of Hawaii. Poor and uneducated, they were easy prey to exploitation by unscrupulous employers who offered only menial work at the lowest wages, where there was little likelihood of their eking out more than a marginal existence.

Asian workers not only built the Western leg of the first transcontinental railroad but also most of the network of railroads in the Western states and Canada. The development of rail transportation was crucial to the economic growth and industrialization of the West and enabled the amassing of great fortunes by those who exploited Asian workers. Asians also performed a major role in the development of agriculture, mining, lumbering, fishing, and numerous other industries in the West. It has been estimated that Asian workers may have constituted as much as 20 percent of the total labor force in the West in the 1880s and early 1900s.

Despite their critical role in the development of the West, Asians were subjected to some of the most humiliating, repressive, and vicious acts of racism ever directed against any immigrant group in the history of America. Among these were: a Foreign Miner's Tax collected almost exclusively from Chinese miners (1850); anti-Chinese ordinances in San Francisco, such as prohibition of persons from walking on the sidewalks while using poles to carry loads (1870), and a requirement that Chinese prisoners in jail cut their hair to a uniform length (1873); the exclusion of Chinese immigrants and prohibition against naturalization (1882); the massacre of 28 Chinese and destruction of Chinatown in Rock Springs, Wyoming (1885); the lynching of six Chinese in Idaho (1888); mob violence which drove Chinese out or destroyed their communities (Tacoma, 1855; Los Angeles, 1871; Monterey, 1906); segregated schools for Chinese children (1860) and later the Japanese; prohibition against racial intermarriage (1872); anti-alien land law prohibiting Asians from purchasing land and limiting leases to a short term (1911); and a variety of restrictions upon entry into skilled crafts and diversion into employment that was noncompetitive with white workers.[7]

As a sequel to the earlier history of racist oppression of the Chinese, Japanese, and Philippinos, more than 110,000 Japanese Americans were evacuated from the West Coast and detained in concentration camps in the period following the outbreak of World War II.[8] This example of the uprooting and imprisonment of Japanese Americans—initiated by the generals; advised, ordered and supervised by the civilian heads of the War Department; authorized by the President; implemented by the Congress; approved by the Supreme Court; and supported by the people—is without parallel in our history.

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Unit III: Socioeconomic Role and Status of Asian Americans

Objectives

In Unit II the historical dimensions of the dual perspective on Asian Americans was developed. Unit III seeks to delineate the consequences of the historical experiences of Asian Americans in terms of their current socioeconomic role and status in American society. This unit defines current problems and issues that confront Asian-American communities in relation to income, employment, health, mental illness, housing, youth, elderly, and new immigrants.

Summary of Content

The popular stereotype of Asian Americans is that they are intelligent, law-abiding, quiet, loyal, hardworking, and model Americans. While primary attention has been focused upon the plight of the Blacks, Latinos, and American Indians, Asian Americans are considered in a special manner—"minorities, yes; but oppressed, no." There is a widespread belief that Asian Americans do not suffer the discrimination and disadvantages associated with other minority groups. The consequence is that in spite of recent efforts to promote civil rights and equal opportunities for ethnic minorities, Asian Americans largely have been ignored by governmental agencies, educational institutions, private corporations, and other sectors of society.

The facts, however, are that Asian Americans are victims of the same social, economic and political inequities that have victimized Blacks, Latinos, and American Indians. For a substantial number of Asians in this country, particularly among the elderly and immigrant populations, ghetto existence and chronic conditions of poverty remain the only way of life. Asians in America are therefore confronted today with very real questions of survival as

related to such realities as below subsistence levels of income, high rates of employment or underemployment, substandard housing, inferior education, inadequate health and social services, problems of drug abuse and delinquency among youth, and the insidious and demoralizing effects of prolonged states of alienation and powerlessness.

One of the more prevalent myths is that Asian Americans by virtue of hard work, thrift and steady advancement are comparatively better off than other ethnic minority groups. However, in metropolitan areas where 90 percent of the Asians live, the Chinese male median income in 1969 (e.g., $3,823 in Boston, $4,352 in New York City) was among the lowest recorded for all groups. The Philippino male median income was lower than the white, Black, and Spanish-origin male for all metropolitan areas except Chicago and New York. Aged Japanese Americans constituted the group with the highest proportion of below poverty-level income in California and New York. And Asians as a group received the lowest average public assistance income in the United States.[9]

Racial discrimination against Asians is evident not so much in denial of employment as in underemployment. This is seen in comparing the relatively high educational attainment of Asians in relation to their numbers in managerial and supervisorial positions in industry and government. Asians in the professions such as medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, nursing, law, education, and accounting, are subjected to state licensing or credentialling requirements which, because of lack of language skills, they are unable to meet.

The influx of ever-increasing numbers of Asian immigrants into already overcrowded central city areas has compounded the problem of insufficient and inadequate housing. For example, in the Chinatown area of San Francisco, 26 percent of the housing, in contrast to 7 percent for the rest of the city, was classified as overcrowded according to the 1970 census report.[10]

Although tuberculosis is no longer a major public health problem in the larger society, the fact of its persistence in Asian-American communities is a grim reminder of the continuation of conditions historically associated with this disease: overcrowded living conditions, inadequate nutrition, long working hours in sweat shops, and stressful situations due to economic and social pressures. In San Francisco, Philippinos had a TB rate four times that of the general population, and the Chinese two times greater. As for mental illness, the hospitalization rate among various ethnic groups in California shows that the Chinese is the highest of all groups (361 per 100,000 in 1964, compared to 213 for Caucasian and 296 for the Negro population). The suicide rate among the Chinese in San Francisco is considerably higher than the overall rate for the city, which has the country's highest rate (30 per 100,000) or three times the national average.[11]

Although the general impression prevails that Asian-American children are models of decorum and that their infrequent lapses of behavior are "taken care of" by the Asian community itself, the facts again reveal that these notions are myths. San Francisco police figures for arrest and citation of Chinese juveniles show an increase by six times during the last decade. Moreover, there has been a steady rise in the incidence of more aggressive offenses, such as armed robbery, assault, and homicide.[12] Immigrant street youth comprise highly organized

gangs that vie against one another for status, and episodes of armed warfare are now common in many Asian-American communities. Other youth, unable to communicate with their parents and reacting to their marginal cultural status and loss of a stable value system are turning to alcohol, drugs, and other forms of self-gratification or escape.

In 1970, among the Chinese, Japanese, and Philippino population there were close to 100,000 persons aged 65 and over.[13] While they suffer from the same survival problems as all aged Americans, the Asian aged have problems that are compounded by the language barrier, past and present exploitation, and misconceptions that pervade the society at large.

The Korean, Philippino, Samoan, and Vietnamese communities may be characterized as "emerging communities" made up largely of new immigrants. They pose special problems of social and cultural adaptation because of lack of language skills, disparity in cultural traditions, values and life styles, and in the case of the Vietnamese, the absence of an existing community support system.

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Unit IV: Delivery of Social Services to Asian-American Communities

Objectives

In Unit III the social problems and social service needs of Asian-American communities were identified. Unit IV will examine the problem of barriers to service delivery and service utilization experienced by Asian Americans in relation to traditional agencies and programs. The response of Asian-American communities in developing their own alternative structures is then discussed.

In this unit the experience of Asian-American communities affords a case example of the choices to be made in such decisions as (1) to develop or expand social services in relation to new (Vietnamese refugees) or changing social

needs (youth problems); (2) to designate the appropriate organizational structure for such services as a drop-in center for youth, a day-care center for the aged, a multipurpose information and referral center for new immigrants; (3) modification of a delivery system for a specific purpose (establishment of satellite centers for outreach purposes); and (4) differential deployment of personnel (use of indigenous paraprofessionals in health care or service delivery teams).

This unit also provides an illustration of the role of culture and values in the utilization of services by an ethnic minority community.

Summary of Content

Growing out of their participation in the civil rights movement of the 1960s and the struggle for equality and justice waged by the Black, Latino, and American-Indian communities, Asian Americans have developed a new awareness of their status and role in American society. This has led to a searching examination of the delivery of social services in their communities and the discovery of gross inequities in the provision of services and insensitivity in the manner of their delivery. It has been found, for example, that the utilization rates of existing social services in Asian-American communities have been comparatively much lower than for other ethnic minority communities.

This situation may be attributed to two sets of factors. The first has to do with the structure, content, and mode of delivery of social services to Asian communities. A central issue in social policy has been characterized by the debate in the early and mid-1960s about the degree and modes of decentralization of social services to assure responsiveness to ethnic minority populations. This debate was sharply defined in terms of a notion of "welfare colonialism" as characterized by the scarcity of social services in the ethnic ghettos and the control of social services by interests outside the ghetto community. The questions being asked were: Why did ghetto residents have to travel long distances on unreliable public transportation facilities to get to central offices? Why weren't the services made available in the local neighborhoods where the people who needed them lived? And why were the controlling boards always made up of white people who lived in the suburbs? Such questions also were picked up by the Asian-American communities and these concerns served to mobilize and direct their energies toward seeking a more relevant provision of services.

Toward the end of the 1960s the questions being asked by Asian and other minority communities turned to priority, relevance, and quality of services. Increasingly, Asian and other minority communities challenged the relevance of traditional therapeutic and adjustment-oriented services. In their view, the priority needs were meaningful jobs, job training with pay-offs and a career ladder, decent housing, quality education, and, more fundamentally, a redistribution of resources and power. Thus Asians rejected the premise that their problems were primarily attributable to life style, dysfunctional family patterns, or individual social maladjustment. They perceived that the tensions, pain, insults, and deprivations they had endured were part of the total configuration

of structural/institutional forces, rather than the result of personal problems requiring imperfect individual solutions. This meant that ultimately there were no solutions to their problems if they were limited to strictly personal terms, but that solutions would have to be sought in political terms as well. The consequence has been the recognition that Asian Americans must move to constitute a political community and enter into coalitions with other minorities in order to negotiate with the establishment from a position of strength.

A second set of factors influencing the utilization of the social services by Asian-American communities has to do with factors inherent in the social and cultural characteristics of the Asian communities involved. Superimposed upon these characteristics has been their history of encounters with racial discrimination and together they help account not only for the comparative restraint and silence of Asians but also for their reluctance, even in the face of dire need, to turn to providers of services for assistance. Among the most compelling of the cultural values common to Asian peoples is the notion that one's capacity to control expression of personal problems or troubled feelings is a measure of maturity. Control of self-expression is related to the concepts of shame and pride, which are also paramount values that govern their behavior.

Thus the Asian client may perceive services such as counseling a shame-inducing matter and will experience extreme stress when asking for help from anyone outside the family. This phenomenon is well illustrated by the difficulty social agencies have reported in locating handicapped Asians whose families have kept the afflicted members at home and cared for them unobtrusively for many years. It is as if the Asian community feels a responsibility for helping to maintain the dignity of the family by keeping the problems within the confines of the family.

In work with Asian communities, the definition of proper entry points or contact persons when intervening becomes critically important. Complicated interrelated sets of social relationships within the community play a large role in determining who potential clients may be willing to see, and what individuals may view as a service acceptable to their family and community. Thus an individual's image and peer group/community expectations are keys to an understanding of that person and to developing acceptable intervention services in the Asian community.

Unit V: Culturally Relevant Social Services and Social Work Practice in Asian-American Communities

Objectives

The focus of Unit IV was upon problems and issues in the delivery and utilization of social services by Asian Americans. Unit V directs attention to the ways in which Asian-American communities have responded to inequities in the allocation of resources and insensitivity in the delivery of services. This has taken the form of the preservation of informal, indigenous support systems within Asian-American communities that function to provide mutual aid and

comfort in times of crisis and need; and alternative structures created to meet the specialized needs of Asian-American communities.

An assessment of this experience provides the basis for identifying those characteristics of social services and social work practice that are culturally relevant to Asian-American communities, or consistent with Asian community values, concerns, and realities.

Summary of Content

INDIGENEOUS SUPPORT SYSTEMS. In defining the characteristics of social services that may be culturally relevant to Asian-American communities, it would be instructive to examine within each Asian community its distinctive social organization and life style. It will be found that these communities have developed a viable subculture based on their respective and unique set of cultural-historical experiences. For example, there exists within the Japanese community an alternative, legitimate opportunity structure that serves to meet the economic, social, psychological, and political needs within the group, when such opportunities are restricted in the larger society. It consists of churches, mutual aid societies, small businesses, newspaper and radio networks, and recreational, educational, vocational, social, health, and welfare organizations maintained by the Japanese community.

The Japanese developed this indigenous community care/support system comprising (1) structures such as local churches, family associations, home-town clubs and district associations, credit associations, social and fraternal organizations; and (2) individuals such as ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, shopkeepers, bartenders, and others who had gained a measure of respect in the community. These individuals were perceived to be confidential sources of advice, comfort, and resources. The role of these "community caretakers" represented an extension of a traditional attitude and practice of collective responsibility derived from old-world values and customs. In many Asian communities today, in the face of the irrelevance of the formal system of social services provided in the larger community, comparable indigenous community care/support systems continue to be preserved and to function in times of need.

ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES. As a consequence of the development of a new awareness, Asian Americans recognized the need to determine and design their own alternative structures and programs that would be controlled and operated by people from their communities. The search of Asian Americans for their identity found concrete expression in service to their communities. Across the country a diversity of alternative social service programs addressed to the needs and problems of the individual community were established. While there is wide variation from city to city, certain common patterns are observable in their organizational structure and function. They may take the form of (1) federations, councils, or coalitions of local community groups; (2) special Asian units or Asian staffing in existing agencies; (3) multipurpose community service centers; or (4) specialized services in relation to specific problems.

Usually, in the initial stage of organizing and developing services, Asian-

American community groups form federations, councils, or coalitions to pool resources, coordinate their efforts, and provide technical assistance to local groups in program development. Although services are a concern, their primary function is advocacy for the rights and needs of Asian Americans and addressing structural issues such as employment, economic development, housing, and education.

At various levels of government, special Asian units have been created or Asian staff employed to relate specifically to Asian community concerns and issues. At the federal level there is an Office for Asian American Affairs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Similar advocacy units are found at the state and local levels to examine and define issues pertaining to the rights and needs of Asians with respect to the responsibilities of the specific agency; to assure that the laws, policies, and practices of governmental agencies and programs are providing equal opportunities for members of their communities; and to make recommendations to the appropriate government agencies regarding desirable changes in law, program, or practice.

Most major Asian-American communities also provide a multiservice center with bilingual staff and a full range of services for new immigrants, youth, families, and the elderly. Among such services are child care, housing, economic assistance, health care, counseling, English-language classes, employment services, and legal aid.

At a more advanced stage of community development, specialized services are developed in relation to particular service needs. Among such services are family, youth or drug-related services; services for the aged; health and mental health related services; employment, job-training, and economic development services; education-related services; legal services; and political advocacy services.

ELEMENTS OF CULTURALLY RELEVANT SOCIAL SERVICES AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE. An examination of the structure and operations of effective social service programs and social work practice in Asian-American communities reveals such characteristics as the following:

1. Location of delivery site within the community itself; i.e., immediately visible and accessible and integrated into the community.
2. Involvement of a broad cross-section of the community in decision making through a representative policy making board.
3. Employment of bilingual and bicultural staff, including paraprofessionals and other intermediaries from within the community.
4. Utilization of existing indigenous formal and informal community care/support systems, such as churches, family associations, hometown clubs, fraternal clubs, credit associations, and community caretakers such as ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, elders, shopkeepers, etc.
5. Development of culturally relevant intervention methods that take into account such considerations as:
   a. the need for more actively supportive, directive, and highly personalized relationships characterized by a full sharing and communication of

values and expectations; and provision of concrete services from the very beginning to facilitate the helping process.

b. the recognition of possible conflict between the concept of "face" and the "confessional" character of the therapeutic situation.

c. the need to differentiate "cultural paraonia" from real pathology, cultural resistance from depressive withdrawal, traditional family needs from abnormal dependency needs, and attempts to maintain one's cultural identity from "hang-ups" (e.g., inhibition or passivity vs. appropriate cultural reserve).

d. the careful reevaluation of the concept and practice of self-determination, recognizing that enumerating options may be bewildering to an Asian client, not because of difficulty in matching options with problems but because the client may feel disobedient and disloyal by not selecting the option valued by the helper; also, what may appear to be cooperation may not be followed by commitment to the "self-determined" choice, since the client may be unwilling to assume the obligation in relation to the helper.

e. the recognition that in Asian cultures it is acceptable to assume a very dependent role in times of crises and for significant persons in one's life to offer much support; consequently, it may be appropriate to indulge the client at a time when he or she is experiencing extreme humiliation and loss of self-esteem.

f. the involvement of the total family in planning and strengthening the family unit; recognition of the individual's need to remain within the immediate extended family in time of need or crisis; frequency of home visits and counseling within the home setting, often in the kitchen or on the living-room floor (Asian style), or at the bedside in time of illness.

g. the flexibility in schedule; readiness to spend two or three hours in interviews, and adaptation to a diversity of informal counseling situations, such as in waiting rooms, corridors, courtroom, hospital, etc., and acceptance of the telephone as a major means of maintaining communication.

h. the recognition of the need for "Asian space" or cultural milieu for patients seeking refuge when they are feeling alienated and not open to interacting with other people who appear different; where they can see their own kind, hear their own language, eat their own native foods; read newspapers and other literature in their own language; and feel at home in a room or on grounds with familiar furnishings and landscaping.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS. At this stage of development there are wide divergences and gaps in planning and coordination among the social services in Asian-American communities. The further developmental need, therefore, is integration of the various elements of existing social services into a coherent service delivery system geared to serving the specific needs of Asian Americans on a city or county-wide basis, which would cut across different agency,

institutional, or other boundaries. A viable system would be characterized by such components as: a centralized referral system with bilingual/bicultural capabilities; a comprehensive social service network staffed by Asian personnel and equipped with institutional facilities that provide a milieu appropriate for Asians; a structure to assure both continuity of care and aftercare closely linked to resources within the community structures of the separate Asian communities; and provision for manpower deployment that would assure a rational utilization of scarce bilingual/bicultural staff.

Integrating Black Minority Content into Social Welfare Policy and Services

BY E. ARACELIS FRANCIS

Course Description and Rationale

The course presented here is an approach for integrating Black content into the traditional history and philosophy of social welfare course. Although only material related to the integration of Black content is presented, this does not mean that content on other minorities cannot be included in the appropriate sections.

The outline of social welfare history in the United States that is given is both issue-oriented and chronological in nature. It attempts to integrate content about Blacks into each section and also suggests areas in which Black content can be included in a history and philosophy of social welfare course. The chronological format facilitates looking at the major issues of different historical periods and directs attention to what was happening to Blacks in regard to social welfare services during those times, rather than tacking on a separate section related to Blacks. The dual perspective is utilized since the student examines the social welfare periods and issues nationally, and simultaneously observes what was happening to Blacks in the same time periods in regard to the same issues.

The Council on Social Work Education's (CSWE) Black Task Force has taken the position that "contemporary society in the United States is a pluralistic or heterogeneous one and, therefore, social welfare policy courses should reflect this diversity."[14] Social welfare policy courses that continue to exclude minorities give students a distorted and incorrect view of social welfare policies and services in this country. It is imperative that the task of developing the necessary content or approaches be undertaken in order to facilitate the schools' movement toward the goal of integrating minority content into all course

offerings. We have had sufficient experience with separate courses on the various minorities now to move toward integrating this material into the existing courses.

The CSWE curriculum policy states that schools should provide the opportunity for all students to acquire knowledge of the general policies, conditions, legislative bases, institutions, and broad range of services relevant to social welfare in contemporary society.[15] Each school interprets this statement differently and develops a variety of course offerings to meet the criteria. Consequently faculty teaching in this area will have to review their school's offerings and then determine how, when, and what kind of minority content should be included in the respective courses.

The CSWE curriculum policy also states that "the major aims of study pertinent to social welfare policy and services are to prepare professionals to act as informed and competent practitioners in providing services, and as participants or leaders in efforts to achieve desirable change. Instruction should be directed toward developing both analytic skills and substantive knowledge, with a focus on the acquisition of competence required for the development, implementation, and change of social work policies and programs."[16] This can be achieved only when we are able to say without equivocation that we are teaching about social welfare policies and services in American society rather than just social welfare policies and services in white America.

Specific Objectives

The educational objectives of the course are to help the student develop:

1. An understanding of how the economic, social, political, and class forces that determine social policies are implicitly influenced by racism.
2. An ability to analyze how social policy is formulated by legislation, the courts, and government bureaucracies, and how this formulation is influenced by racism.
3. An awareness of the impact of institutional racism on Black Americans and other ethnic minorities with particular reference to the distribution of societal resources and the patterns of delivery of educational, health, and social services.

The basic considerations and assumptions of the course are:

1. Racism in combination with poor-law thinking is dysfunctional and inhumane in our current society.
2. The persistence and viability of institutional racism is incompatible with the goals of social justice.
3. Social problems such as poverty, unemployment, and ghetto living require basic structural changes rather than remedial, incremental reforms.
4. Targets and strategies for change should include removal of barriers to full and effective participation in all aspects of American life.[17]

Organization of Teaching Materials

The course consists of seven units: Before the 1830s, 1830s to the Civil War, 1865 to the Progressive Era, the Progressive Era, World War I to the Depression, World War II to the Late 1950s, and the 1960s to the Present. Each of the units has a major theme related to the way in which the history and philosophy of social welfare is currently taught in schools of social work. In each unit, content about Blacks is added with the purpose of providing the dual perspective and sensitizing students to the Black experience in contrast to the white experience.

Unit I—Before the 1830s

Objective

The primary objective of this unit is to analyze the transplanting of English poor laws to America. Within the framework of the dual perspective, this section has been expanded to include an analysis of the initiation of slavery and the societal response to Black needs.

Summary of Content

From the early beginnings of this country the policies and practices of the dominant society have totally affected the lives of Blacks in America. Initially, the Blacks who arrived in this country were treated like white laborers and given the status of indentured servants. The inability to solve the increasing demand for labor to help settle the new country, the slave trafficking then being done in the West Indies, the easy detection of runaway Blacks, and the Blacks' status as heathens (which lessened any qualms about severe chastisement if it was needed) led to the institution of slavery in the new world. By the last quarter of the 17th century there was a definite increase in the importation of slaves, but the imposition of slavery was not universally accepted and there were many slave revolts. In response to these revolts the Colonial Legislatures enacted a series of laws prohibiting Black mobility, the assembling of Blacks, and the Blacks' right to own property. These laws also stated carefully the conditions regulating both the conduct of the Blacks and the conduct of society toward them. This ensured that the required conduct would be achieved since the behavior of both slave and freeman was regulated.

The commercial and industrial nature of the economic life of the middle colonies led to the demise of slavery there by the end of the colonial period. Consequently free Blacks in these colonies were allowed to secure an education and practice religion. But although they were not enslaved, they were still not treated as equals or awarded all the rights of citizenship.

The Revolutionary War and the assertions of the Declaration of Independence brought about no major change in the status of Blacks. Through a constitutional compromise, the Founding Fathers protected the institution of slavery and denied the slave the rights of citizenship.

From the ratification of the Constitution in 1788 to the final resolution of the Missouri Compromise in 1821, Congress enacted seven statutes concerning the

slave trade. Additionally, different states passed legislation that regulated Blacks, both slave and free. Of significance were the far-reaching regulations that society imposed on itself by accepting a system of bondage. These restrictions further confirmed and sanctioned that American social welfare didn't have to worry about the plight of Blacks.

American independence bypassed the American Black, and thus their needs could only be met by their own efforts. Northern Blacks by the 1830s had begun to establish their own institutions. A Black church, the first Black newspaper, the first Black convention, Black benevolent societies, and secret fraternal organizations were developed. These institutions enabled Blacks to band together for economic advancement and mutual relief and the benevolent societies and the fraternal organizations spread rapidly throughout the North and operated clandestinely in the South. The Negro Convention was the first effort by the race to effect unified action on a national scale to address the exposed and defenseless position of the free Blacks in American society. Thus the emphasis on Black self-help was initiated.

Unit II—1830s to the Civil War

Objective

Unit II continues the dual perspective theme by expanding its objective to include an analysis of the anti-slavery movement and its response to Black needs within the context of the development of American poor laws and the Evangelical Protestant interplay in relation to the poor.

Summary of Content

The debate over slavery continued during this period and a lengthy season of controversy and sectional conflicts ensued. The 1850 compromise enacted a more stringent Fugitive Slave Act and placed enforcement under federal jurisdiction. But the conflicts increased and in 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska bill permitted the occupants of the two territories to decide for themselves whether they would enter the union as slave or free states, thus negating Congressional authority to regulate territorial affairs. This further set the stage for the confrontation between the North and the South.

In 1857 the most far-reaching judicial statement of the nineteenth century was made in the Dred Scott case. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney ruled that Negroes were so far inferior that they had no rights that the white man was bound to respect and that Negroes might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for their own benefit. Thus both legislatively and judicially American Blacks were a totally subjugated minority and their lack of status was formally sanctioned.

Despite the Blacks' lack of status, concerns about slavery continued to exist. The organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 with substantial white interest and support led to the demise of the all-Negro Convention. But Blacks soon found themselves left out since these organizations were white-dominated, limited Black participation in important positions, and excluded

Blacks altogether in some chapters.

Blacks again realized that they would have to rely on their own efforts and the Convention Movement was reactivated. By 1853 it began to show increasing support for an ideology of self-help and racial solidarity. Consequently Blacks banded together to fight for abolition, and many Freedmen's Aid Societies sprang up in the North among Blacks to provide escaped slaves with food, clothing, medicine, and the rudiments of an education.

Unit III—1865 to the Progressive Era

Objective

The objective of this unit is to analyze the poor law at its apex, and its interplay with voluntary organizations. This has to be viewed within the context of the end of the Civil War and the massive federal program conducted by the Freedman's Bureau.

Summary of Content

With the end of the Civil War the United States faced its greatest domestic challenge ever as it sought to deal with the recalcitrant South and the four million Blacks who had been freed. The adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment late in 1865 had provided for the abolition of slavery and involuntary servitude and settled the question of the status of the Blacks.

Remaining unresolved was the question of how to deal with the South. Claiming that they needed measures to control the newly freed Blacks, the South quickly moved to reestablish the Black Codes. They also refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and reelected members of the former Confederacy as their representatives. These actions convinced many Congressional leaders that the South should be treated harshly, and thus they drew up the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which provided for stringent treatment of the former Confederate states.

Consequently ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment—which provided citizenship for all persons born or naturalized in the United States—and the extension of the provisions of the Freedman's Bureau were achieved. The latter initially had been passed to protect and aid the former slaves who were released from bondage for the duration of the war and one year thereafter.

The establishment of the bureau was a landmark for the federal government since it was the first time that federal funds had been used to provide direct aid to individuals. The bureau provided a wide range of assistance to both Blacks and displaced Southern whites. It provided food, clothing, supplies, job placement, educational facilities, homestead lands, and many other services that enabled Blacks to cope with their new status as free people. The bureau demonstrated that the federal government could provide an extensive program of relief to large numbers of its citizens.

The third and last of the civil rights amendments—the Fifteenth Amendment—which was designed to grant Blacks universal suffrage, was adopted in

1870.

The end of the Civil War had raised hopes that the nation might take the opportunity to integrate Blacks fully into the civic and political life of the country. In the 1876 presidential election the Republicans chose to reconcile the sections to each other rather than to pursue full equality for Black Americans. Through the 1877 Compromise the Republicans agreed to withdraw federal troops from the South, provide better representation in Washington, and provide federal subsidies for internal improvement. The South was thus left free to rule itself without Northern interference or Black influence and the hopes for Black equality were quickly extinguished.

Black self-help efforts increased during the post-Civil War period and the Black church played an important role in offering spiritual and material relief. After the collapse of the Freedman's Bureau and the white society's retreat from the quest for Black equality, the social welfare needs of the Black community were ignored. Into this void stepped Black schools and colleges, Black lodges, Black women's clubs, and individual philanthropy to meet the social welfare needs of the Black community.

Unit IV — The Progressive Era

Objective

The objective of this unit is to analyze social welfare's movement from addressing cases to addressing the institutions that affected and impinged on the lives of the poor. Since this was a period that emphasized social change, it is critical that Black involvement during this period be addressed.

Summary of Content

The 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* superimposed a "separate but equal doctrine" upon the law and provided the constitutional basis for the Jim Crow legislation that followed. State constitutions were changed to introduce measures that would deprive Blacks of all opportunities for civic and political participation. Other laws imposed segregated facilities in education, travel, public accommodations, and the like. In addition to the legal statutes, Blacks also were subjected to the brutality of white terror and mob rule, which went unchecked throughout the South. Although freed from slavery, Blacks were repressed and reduced to the status of second-class citizens by the force of law and custom that was sustained by state control.

The movement for social change brought on by the Progressive Era was seen primarily as progress for whites. Thus the fact that Black repression in the South was increasing could be ignored.

On the other hand, the settlement workers who were closest to the urban Blacks shared the prejudices of their times but recognized that the Black urban population also had needs that had to be addressed. They responded by establishing settlements exclusively for Blacks or establishing branches of larger settlements in Black neighborhoods and in a few instances accepted Blacks into

existing settlements.

The efforts of the settlement workers provided the first reliable information about the actual status of Blacks in Northern cities and highlighted the fact that the problems present in any large urban center were magnified for Blacks due to past and present discriminatory treatment. It was obvious that there was a need for organization and social reform if the condition of the Blacks was to be improved. These facts led some settlement workers to oppose the dominant social thinking of the time, and this allowed them to aid Blacks in achieving equality.

At the same time, the social, economic, and political deprivation of Blacks was so severe that by 1905 a group of young Blacks under the leadership of W.E.B. Dubois established the Niagara Movement as an organization for aggressive action to secure full citizenship. This movement eventually joined with the activist settlement workers, and in 1910 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was established. Its major foci were to mount a crusade to end lynching, secure the franchise for Blacks, and put an end to all forms of discrimination and segregation. In 1911 the National Urban League was formed due to the need for an organized effort in the economic sphere.

Again Blacks found that if their problems were to be addressed they would have to rely on self-help efforts and the support of those whites who were willing to oppose the dominant thought of the era and seek to achieve Black equality.

Unit V—World War I to the Depression

Objective

The objective of this unit is an analysis of the bureaucratization and formalization of the social work profession after the preceding era of social reform. The advent of the depression brought an end to the professional emphasis, as social workers joined the federal government in alleviating the suffering of the masses. This era also brought a major change in social welfare and had a profound effect on Blacks in the society.

Summary of Content

The condition of Blacks at the beginning of this era seemed hopeless, since they had been deprived by law of nearly every basic individual and public right throughout the South and had been stripped by acquiescence and custom of many of these same rights throughout the rest of the country.

The gradual emergence of the Black protest movement was the culmination of several factors. These included the extensive disruption of World War I, a national depression, the dramatization of the plight of the Blacks by certain socialist and far left organizations, and the rejection of interracial solutions by the Black Nationalists under the leadership of Marcus Garvey. The NAACP, which was pledged to a program of reeducating the American public to the need for and wisdom of interracial reform, was forced to take more vigorous action in

its pursuit of reform.

The New Deal programs developed in response to the depression also helped Blacks, since by then large numbers of them had moved to the North and new opportunities became available. Despite the inclusion of Blacks at the federal level, they were treated differently in the New Deal programs. On the local level where the programs were administered, law and custom that sanctioned discriminatory treatment toward Blacks prevailed. Consequently, under the New Deal, Blacks were again treated as second-class citizens and not awarded the same benefits as their white counterparts.

Unit VI—World War II to the late 1950s

Objective

The objective of this unit is to examine the period of professionalization following World War II and to explore the profession's response to Black needs.

Summary of Content

By the end of World War II the drive to achieve complete equality for Blacks had intensified and world-wide attention on race led to a closer scrutiny of the conditions of Blacks in the United States.

As a result, Black organizations such as the NAACP received assistance from many other groups in society and increased their demands for full equality. The achievement of this goal was sought through legal and judicial avenues.

Progress was also evident in the executive orders issued by presidents of the United States. Civil rights, fair employment practices, federal contracts with private agencies, employment and advancement opportunities in the federal service, and integration in the armed services were only a few of the areas addressed in these executive orders.

The major milestone of the era, however, was the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education.* This decision ended school desegregation and provided a major impetus for breaking down the barriers that had kept Blacks from receiving a quality education under the separate but equal doctrine that was the law of the land. The executive order implementing the federal court order for school desegregation was a major victory in the face of widespread opposition to it.

Supreme Court decisions also affected civil rights, voting, interstate travel, housing covenants, and higher education, and some progress was made in those areas.

Despite the activity in the executive and judicial branches of government, Congress was unable to secure the passage of any piece of civil rights legislation until 1957. The new law was the first civil rights legislation since 1875. A major provision of the law was the creation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, which had the authority to appraise the laws and policies of the federal government with respect to equal protection.

The forces of change and the slowness of progress in the civil rights struggle

eventually led to direct action activities in Southern cities and a new thrust in the civil rights movement began. As a result of the 1955-56 Alabama bus boycott, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under Martin Luther King, Jr., was established. Thus the era ended with the recognition that legal and legislative action would not by themselves achieve equality for Blacks.

Unit VII—The 1960s to the Present

Objective

Given the content covered in the preceding units, students will approach this section with an understanding of the dual perspective as it relates to the effects of social policy on Blacks in America. Given this basic understanding, the objective of this unit is an analysis of the several trends of this period including social reform, professional reorganization, and the effects on Blacks of the new conservatism and the various social policies of the 1960s and 1970s.

Summary of Content

The 1960s saw the culmination of the Black protest movement and the swinging into action of Congress as it passed several civil rights acts in response to growing Black demands. The four major pieces of legislation that affected Blacks were:

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964—This was the most comprehensive piece of civil rights legislation ever passed. It insured maximum rights for Blacks in many areas of public life such as voting, public accommodations, public facilities, education, and fair employment practices.
2. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964—More than any other piece of legislation, this act heralded the Great Society's commitment to the nation's poor. It was designed to eliminate poverty and restructure society by giving the poor a chance to design and administer antipoverty programs.
3. The Voting Rights Act of 1965—This act provided for the assignment of federal examiners to conduct registration and observe voting in states or counties where patterns of discrimination existed.
4. The Fair Housing Act of 1968—This act made it unlawful to refuse to sell or rent or to refuse to negotiate for the sale or rental of a dwelling because of race or religion.

The growing political power of Blacks, their influence in national politics, and the growing concern about the limited rights extended to Blacks in the United States led to major changes in the social, political, and economic conditions of Blacks within this country.

This also was a period of major change in the social work profession as Blacks began to demand proportionate representation in its national organizations, its schools, and the profession itself. Along with the thrust for representation there developed national Black associations to address Black issues and concerns which it was felt could not be addressed in the established organizations.

Though slow, advances have been made in minority representation in those areas of major concern.

Although many changes were evident as a result of the ferment of the 1960s, the Black community continued to suffer from economic exploitation, political powerlessness, and exclusion from societal benefits such as adequate housing and quality education.

By the 1970s the momentum of the 1960s had spent itself. In 1972 Congress passed the Employment Act, which strengthened the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by expanding its jurisdiction and empowering it to seek federal court action against employment discrimination.

The 1970s have not seen any fundamental social changes, and the gains made by Blacks have been limited. School desegregation battles are still being fought in the courts, Black income has not closed the wide gap with white income, and continuing high unemployment has disproportionately affected Blacks. But gains continue to be made politically as more Blacks are being elected to office.

Progress has been made, but the promise of the constitution remains unfulfilled and most Blacks continue to suffer from the effects of the lack of equality of opportunity.

Conclusions

The preceding content summaries should not be viewed as an exhaustive presentation of the issues related to the historical progress of Blacks in relation to social welfare issues in America. They are intended instead to be suggestive of content that could be included in the integration of content on Blacks in the general history and philosophy of social welfare courses taught in schools of social work.

The fact that American history and the history of American social welfare traditionally have been taught as the history of white Americans is a major consideration in the development of an integrated course. Consequently the materials needed to supplement this course are still being developed. The efforts now being made to address this issue and the achievements being made in Black scholarship eventually should provide the needed documentation to make the initiation of a history and philosophy of social welfare course that addresses the dual perspective a reality in all schools of social work.

To continue to address Black history or the history of minorities separately is to continue a fiction that is especially dysfunctional for social workers who must provide service to members of a pluralistic society.

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The Development of a Polycultural Social Policy Curriculum from the Latino Perspective

BY RAMON VALLE

The Polycultural Perspective

Current social policy courses and curriculum paradigms need to be turned in a polycultural direction. As intended here, the notion of polyculturality encompasses the actuality of multiple ethnic populations within the United States and the diversity of their respective social institutions. This concept is in harmony with the Norton concept of the dual perspective as outlined earlier in this source book. In essence, the polycultural and dual perspectives ask the theorist-practitioner to develop the capability to simultaneously experience and incorporate the ethnic minority and majority values and paradigms at all points of the curriculum.

As discussed here, the idea of paradigm is the one defined by Kuhn.

According to him, a paradigm has two basic contexts. First, it can denote an entire constellation of beliefs, values, and techniques shared by the members of a given community (scientific, educational, or professional) and which is employed as a model for understanding reality. Second, it can denote an element within that broader constellation utilized to understand a particular aspect of that reality.[18] In this discussion, both nuances about paradigms will be used interchangeably.

It is unfortunate, but the present structure of knowledge in social policy curricula is skewed away from the appropriate paradigms that would help us understand the ethnic experience. Course content simply does not reflect the abundance of persisting social institutions and differential value sets of this country's ethnic groups. A quick look at social policy course offerings might appear to indicate the opposite. The observer poring over syllabi and bibliographies is left with the impression of an overabundance of ethnic content. Social work program bulletins create a like impression. It may appear to the analyst that there is hardly a graduate or undergraduate program that does not have at least one course on ethnicity somewhere in its curriculum—often located in the social policy sequence.

A closer review, though, provides a quite different understanding. To date, ethnic content course offerings remain specialized, mostly elective, and, with regard to social policy, primarily outside the mainstream of conventional historical-analytical treatments of the subject matter. Moreover, such a close review of social policy sequence content reveals the absence of conceptual models whereby the ethnic experience may be understood and appropriately integrated into the curriculum. It would appear, rather, that courses and references have been summarily added in a quick attempt to gain insight into ethnicity. It would further appear that very little attention has been given to understanding the *meaning* of the ethnic experience. Hence a plethora of cursory or peripheral generalizations about ethnic populations abound throughout present social policy curricula in social work.

As seen by this writer, the polycultural (dual) perspective precludes mere additive curriculum development strategies. Rather, the demand upon the curriculm developer is to reorient his or her conceptual base to incorporate the appreciative sets (world views and decision perspectives) of cultural groups other than those of the majority society in the United States. In this context, polycultural curriculum development is seen as a conceptual reorientation of social policy paradigms rather than a mere numerical increase in ethnic social policy course material.

The specific intent of the material detailed here, therefore, is to assist the social policy curriculum developer to formulate course content from a culturally relevant dual perspective frame of reference. In essence, this will call for the insertion of key ethnic minority content into the standard social policy course on an ongoing basis. The content below is presented principally from the Latino viewpoint. By inference an equally applicable storehouse of content pertaining to other ethnic populations awaits exploration.

General Course Objectives

The general objective of the course proposed here is the development of a polycultural curriculum content base for the social policy instructor and curriculum developer. The course has been modularized into four discrete but interlocked components in order to allow for instructional flexibility and differential time sequencing within the variety of social policy instructional patterns to be found at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. The four modules are seen as forming subobjectives of the course and take the following configuration.

1. *Module A*—Latino indicators: the formulation of baseline polycultural appreciative perspective.
2. *Module B*—Latino antecedent institutions: the development of a crosscultural social policy historical perspective.
3. *Module C*—Persistent naturalistic-indigenous mutual welfare systems: the development of crosscultural social welfare program perspectives.
4. *Module D*—Latino policy analysis frameworks: the development of a dual perspective policy analysis capability.

Module A: The Development of Latino Indicators

Module Objectives

Module A has the following specific objectives:

1. To introduce the participants to the literature and culturally syntonic (culturally harmonious) information about the Latino experience.
2. To assist the participants to learn to view issues from other cultural perspectives.
3. To assist participants to develop the art of critical crosscultural assessment.
4. To broaden the participants' crosscultural paradigm base.
5. To establish a culturally syntonic analytical milieu for engaging modules B, C, and D.

The Formulation of Latino Indicators

Over the past several years, the Latino academic community has been devoting considerable energies in two directions. First, in tearing down social science stereotyping of the Latino, and second, in devising Latino-relevant conceptual models for empirical testing. These, in essence, have become the "Latino indicators."

In discussing Latino indicators one must examine a series of works analyzing the parameters of the Latino symbolic (cultural) dimension. The authors include Romano, Vaca, Hernandez, Montiel, Munoz, and Rocco.[19] A host of additional researchers and their writings can be added to the growing number of Chicanos and other Latinos who are defining the symbolic (cultural)

dimension in a variety of other areas: for example, with regard to urban phenomena, Alvarez and Valle.[20]

In this same vein, Cassavantes proposed separating poverty and social class variables from Chicano cultural dynamics. He proceeded to pare away those attributes linked more to poverty than to the fact of being Chicano, arguing by way of example that "machismo" may well be a world-wide phenomenon bound to poverty (seen by the writer as reflective of crosscultural male chauvinsim) rather than to Latino culture per se.[21] Hernandez postulated the presence of a lateral and primary group model for Chicanos rather than an heirarchical organizational structural pattern as the mode for Chicano organizational processes.[22] Sotomayor and Tirado traced similiar webwork type systems with regard to the family and to political organizational involvement respectively.[23]

Rendon, in his *Chicano Manifesto,* took a forward look to the new urban Chicano, the urban-Mestizo, whose roots stem from the 260 million Latin American Mestizos to the south. Rendon echoes Jose Vasconcelos and Alfonso Reyes, intellectuals of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, who developed the concept of the Mestizo (the mixed Indo/Ibero/Afro) people of Latin America.[24]

Romano, in his "Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican-Americans," provided a seminal four-way taxonomy to describe Chicanos, which is now ripe for empirical testing in urban settings.[25] The Romano formulation is also ideally suited to facilitating the assembling of curriculum content to illustrate Chicano identity.

Critiques around a multiplicity of other topics are also coming into existence. For example: in social services, Atencio, and in historical analysis, Padilla.[26] It should be noted that Mexican-American writers as well as Anglo-Americans are critiqued throughout the analysis.

Putting the Indicators to Use

The above literature taken collectively can be put to use in formulating a base for a dual perspective curriculum. One illustration might serve to show how the Latino indicators operate, specifically with the Chicano culture.

A basic premise emerging from the above authors holds that the Chicano people have a distinct culture that serves to nurture, enculturate, and socialize them in positive, strengthening ways. This view is in contrast to the prevailing psychosociological stereotypic opinion which sees the Chicano as "culturally deprived" or as a "cultureless amalgam." The following might serve to demonstrate the point.

If writers assume the existence of a viable culture, then certain culturally-syntonic conclusions prevail throughout their works. For example: "[There is need] for help for the [Chicano] family under seige by the increasing pressures of urban existence."[27] "The process of urbanization is not necessarily synonomous with acculturation, though this may be the long-range trend."[28] "The socio-cultural strengths of the Mexican-American family, therefore, need to be closely identified, evaluated and supported. More often than not, the positive factors of the [Mexican-American] family have provided the only strengths

available in the life experience of the Mexican-American people."[29]

Quite a different picture emerges, though, if one looks through Anglo-American eyes and sees the Chicano as culturally deprived or as almost totally culturally deficient. Moore said:

> It is not only from American society that he (the Chicano) feels alienated. He also feels left out of the mainstream of American history and simultaneously feels guilty for having deserted the homeland. It is in this sense of being in two cultures yet belonging to neither *(ni Aqui ni Allá)* that is the source of his most profound alienation and now anger.[30]

Also, Grebler et al. stated that "there is also a tendency to overgeneralize the culture itself. Certainly Mexican-American culture is not now an integrated whole. Eroded, altered and shifted by its exposure to the American experience, it has been transformed into an amalgam."[31] In these instances culturally destructive or "dissonant" conclusions prevail throughout the authors' analyses.

The Art of Critical Analysis: A Summary

The first social policy curriculum development strategy suggested here then, is the art of crosscultural "critical reading." To the extent that the factor of critical analysis is present, to that extent one can affirm or deny the reality and viability of Latino social institutions. To the extent that the curriculum developer enmeshes him or herself in the cultural fabric of the population under study, to that extent will culturally syntonic social policy assumptions and conclusions prevail.

Module B: Latino Antecedent Institutions

Module Objectives

Module B has the following specific objectives:

1. To trace the crosscultural social welfare institutional roots of United States Latino populations.
2. To develop a broad appreciative capability within the participants for antecedent social welfare institutions.
3. To assist the participants to interweave their knowledge gains within the framework of social policy, historically oriented content.
4. To provide a knowledge-appreciative base for the participants with regard to Modules A, C, and D.

The Duality of Social Welfare Ethnic Minority Antecedents

It is evident that even the historically oriented social policy content has taken on the same strong social justice and exposition-of-racism emphasis that exists throughout the social policy curriculum as a whole. However, when it comes to the presentation of the ethnic minority historical perspective it is apparent that

Anglo/Northern European interpretive sets predominate within the overall treatment of the material. This attitudinal perspective can be seen if the discussion includes the distant social history past: for example, the emergence of Europe from the Middle Ages. This attitudinal set can be equally detected if the discussion focuses on the more recent past, namely the human service developments from the post-Civil War period onward. In this latter period for example, one would be hard-pressed not to find continual references to the Charity Organization Society of 1869 and the Settlement House movement of 1884 as forerunners of the social work profession. These institutions of English genesis and the theorists surrounding them are promoted as foundation blocks for our present social welfare system.

At the same time the social policy literature has almost completely ignored the origins of counterpart Latino social institutions equally active and developing within the above historical time periods. Spain, for example, the principal European influence on Latin America, brought a wide repertoire of social welfare antecedent institutions with it to the new world. The first urban center in North America, St. Augustine, Florida, complete with its social welfare institutions, was of Spanish (Ibero)/Mestizo origin, not of Northern European origin. From an overview perspective, the eleemosynary antecedent systems of Southern European (mostly Ibero) heritage throughout Latin America have been bypassed. As seen here, this omission seriously skews any attempt to understand United States Latino populations and their interactions with human service systems at both the operational and policy levels.

An equally serious deficiency within social policy curricula is the neglect of the history of the social development of those native civilizations of the New World that predated the Ibero *conquistadores*. These include the Aztec (Mexico), Mayan (Southern Mexico/Central America), and Inca (Peru) sociocultural systems. The evidence from anthropological and modern sociocultural research is that these civilizations were more advanced in their social and urbanized dimensions than the invading Spaniards.[32] These civilizations, along with other cultural groupings in the New World, established indigenous value structures providing for the common good that have endured among Latinos to the present.[33]

If one studies the history of specific Latino populations such as the Chicano people, one can find clear evidence of such preexisting systems providing for the common welfare. For example, throughout the area now encompassed by Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and California, the historical processes of indigenous self-help institutional developments are readily in evidence.[34] Revision of social welfare policy curriculum as well as paradigm reorientation and rebuilding therefore demand the incorporation of such parallel social welfare developments into the conventional historical discussions of the subject matter.

Antecedent Institutions: A Summary

Latino institutional roots extend back several centuries and contain two principal sociocultural influences, Ibero (Spanish) and Indo (Aztec/Mayan, including several other key indigenous tribal-nation-state influences such as

Mextica-Zapatecan, Chichmecan, and Toltecan). The development of Latino social institutions both predates as well as parallels the development of Anglo/Northern European-influenced human service institutions in the United States. These latter influences, though, provide the core of conventional social policy literature.

Module C: Crosscultural Social Welfare Program Perspectives

Module Objectives

Module C has the following specific objectives:

1. To delineate mutual assistance, human service programmatic coping formats indigenous to Latino and specifically Chicano populations.
2. To develop concepts around programmatic alternatives for these specific populations as well as a crosscultural appreciative base for human service programs.
3. To develop the capability among the course participants for understanding points of possible interaction and linkages between existing societal programs and indigenous naturalistic formats.
4. To provide a knowledge linkage for the participants between Modules A, B, and D.

The Duality of Presently Existing Naturalistic (Indigenous) Coping Systems

With a modest research effort, those above-noted antecedents can be seen readily as having taken viable form among present United States Latino populations. One has only to peruse such diverse social scientists as Edmonson, Novak, Solomon, Spicer, and Suttles to be impressed with the existence of relatively extensive indigenous or naturalistic coping systems among ethnics.[35] Specific empirical studies among Chicanos have begun to document unique indigenous coping and mutual assistance institutions such as *amistad-compadrazgo*, which is a naturalistic interactional system of extended relationships between linked individuals that offers its members mutual support in the context of kinship-like bonds which do not require actual kin relationships.[36] Counterpart *compadrazgo* systems can be encountered among other Latino populations, for example, Puerto Ricans.[37]

In like manner, other empirical studies document more formally chartered self-help organizations such as semi-incorporated cooperatives among Chicano groups throughout the Southwest (and by extension to other locales where Chicanos reside).[38] In San Diego the cooperative lending system of the *cundina* was just recently "discovered" by researchers.[39] In brief, if one looks closely beyond the fabric of the existing network of Anglo/Northern European social

welfare and human service systems one can find current examples of such mutualistic institutions throughout Latino populations.

A Word About the Concept of Naturalistic Systems

As utilized in this discussion, the concept of naturalistic systems has its origin in several disciplines: social work, sociology, social psychology, and anthropology to name but four. The core notion in naturalistic systems is that of primary group relationships as conceptualized first by Cooley and later expanded on by a variety of other theorists such as Popenoe.[40] A second core aspect is that of persisting identity systems focused around commonly held group symbols, as well as around commonly held values and beliefs. The third core aspect consists of the more formalized organizational systems to be found among ethnic populations such as the cooperatives just discussed. In addition to the literature already cited, the notion of naturalistic or primary group systems also can be found in the literature about community systems.[41]

The presence of such indigenous-naturalistic institutions among the Latino people can be extended to other ethnic minority populations. An Administration on Aging-funded study at the School of Social Work, San Diego State University, uncovered such parallel systems that provide for the common welfare among other ethnic groups. This study included Black, Native American, and Pan-Asian populations, along with Latinos.[42]

In addition, researchers into the phenomenon of ethnicity and social class have traced the persistence of naturalistic-indigenous institutions among middle-class, as well as second- and third-generation ethnics.[43] The implications of the findings are profound for social policy curriculum as well as for social welfare institutions. It is no longer supportable to note categorically that middle-class ethnics view social institutions that adhere to Anglo-American urban formats as desirable or as necessarily sympathetic to their needs.

Persisting Naturalistic-Indigenous Systems: A Summary

The antecedent institutions have endured, been adapted, and incorporated into the Latino experience of the 1970s. These have developed into modern primary/naturalistic reference groups and interactional support systems for those ethnic populations that must exist in relatively hostile United States discriminatory environments.

Module D: Latino Policy Analysis Frameworks

Module Objectives

Module D has the following specific objectives:

1. To explicate crosscultural policy analysis strategies, theory, and appreciative sets.
2. To contrast and mesh crosscultural policy analysis technology with standard policy analysis formats.

3. To assist the participants to gain the capability of developing crosscultural models for policy analysis.
4. To provide a knowledge linkage between Modules A, B, and C.

The Development of a Policy Analysis Dual Perspective

The dual perspective is perhaps most glaringly absent from the policy analysis sector of the social policy curriculum. One has but few recent theorists from which to draw upon to find the ethnic perspective even noted.[44] Even then one has to view the discussion as monoculturally generalized and not focused on the analytical outlook of particular ethnic populations. In general one has to search the literature outside of the social policy field to find focused ethnic impact discussion underway. Cases in point include Pantoja, Blourock, and Bowman on cultural pluralism, and Blauner's concept of internal colonialism.[45]

In actual fact, to build the necessary analytical frame of reference applicable to social policy curriculum, one has to reach to the research world and to such works as Ladner's *The Death of White Sociology*[46] to begin developing the syntonic frame of reference from which to constitute the appropriate analytical starting point and from which to initiate the process of social policy paradigm redevelopment. From the Latino viewpoint specifically, one has to turn to a series of Latino political analysts to have the dual perspective hit home. Here the endless decades and oppressive social policies of the nation can be seen clearly from the point of view of Latinos who have been excluded from citizen status, including being denied their language and heritage. Such analysts can also provide an understanding of the systematic exclusion of Latinos from the mainstream of United States human development resources.[47]

Latino Policy Analysis Frames of Reference: A Summary

Policy analysis forms the basis of modern social policy curriculum. The art of crosscultural policy analysis, therefore, emerges as a key element within the overall formulation outlined in this section. As seen within this total discussion, the ethnic minority analytical frames of reference are the catalytic agents toward the development of a polycultural perspective.

A Note on Teaching Methodology

The primary approach outlined here is the analysis of theoretical material with accompanying theoretical discussion. This is based on an assessment of the paradigm weaknesses of the present social policy curriculum. A supportive teaching mode could be the development of parallel experiential social policy learning situations. This perhaps could be achieved through the instructor's initiation of learning experience contracts with local Latino constituencies, which could take the form of actual social policy assignments around issues of concern to a specific Latino group. Assignments could be phased in order to parallel the specific learning objectives of each of the preceding modules.

Included in the learning contracts would be the opportunity for the participants to experience some aspect of the Latino constituency's cultural life. For example, it could entail experiencing the group's cultural life as expressed through feasts or holiday celebrations. By extension, the social policy learning contracts also could include other local ethnic minority constituencies.

The mix of experiential interacting with Latino (or other ethnic minority) constituencies can act as a powerful social policy, polycultural curriculum development reinforcer. The explicit caution though, would be that such assignments need to be tied directly to the formulation of accompanying polycultural theoretical frames of reference in order to assist the learners in developing an appreciative understanding of the realities they have experienced.

Equally potent in generating experientially related impact are Chicano-focused media presentations. Fortunately, a number of excellent social policy relevant films on the Latino experience are available for easy incorporation by the curriculum planner.[48]

Beyond the above suggestions, the teaching methodology is seen as that which best suits the format of the instructor utilizing the content discussed here. In essence, the content could be taught as a separate course or possibly as four separate courses or elements interwoven with existing social policy courses. This is in keeping with the overall intent to generate a baseline crosscultural perspective, rather than simply to multiply course offerings within the social policy curriculum.

Course Summary and Conclusions

The premise of this discussion is that the social policy curriculum in social work is monoculturally, rather than polyculturally oriented. In evidence of the lack of the necessary duality of outlook, the Latino experience within the United States has been highlighted. The monoculturality of perspective that permeates the social policy curriculum can be documented within the following areas: (1) throughout the texts and papers that discuss the antecedents of our social welfare institutions; (2) throughout the literature focused on the current programmatic dimensions of social welfare and the human services; and (3) throughout policy analysis discussions.

Overall it is evident that Anglo/Northern European paradigms predominate throughout the social policy literature and curricula. Because of these defects one must be cautious when the dynamics of ethnic minority peoples are brought into discussion. In brief, the social policy curriculum paradigms with regard to ethnic populations in the United States are at a relatively primitive state of development and suffer from a lack of appropriate polycultural *conscientización* (critical consciousness)[49] to curriculum development, such as that which emanates from the dual perspective.

Many avenues can lead to the development of such a Freire state of polycultural *conscientización*. A breakthrough approach suggested here is the

active involvement by both faculty and students in the process of scholarly crosscultural inquiry.

American Indians in Modern Society: Implications for Social Policy and Services

BY EDDIE FRANK BROWN

Introduction

One of the most frequent complaints of American Indians concerns the ignorance, insensitivity, and lack of respect displayed by professionals of the human services in the planning, development, and delivery of social services to Indian communities. These complaints have supported the belief that social work education has not taken significant steps toward shaping its professional training to assure that social workers will be more responsive to the needs of American Indian communities.[50]

In a recent survey of American Indian MSW students and graduates, over 50 percent indicated that they felt their curriculum was not relevant to the needs of their communities. Of the graduates,

> Most stated that the curricula paid only token attention to Indians, consisted largely of misinformation about Indians, and was over-simplified or too general to be useful. Even schools with formal programs for Indians were judged weak in this area.[51]

The need therefore exists for those involved in social work education to develop content that reflects respect for and technical competence in educating social workers to work for or on behalf of the survival and strengthening of American Indians and their communities. Social work content must reflect a perspective that encompasses the American Indians' history, heritage, cultures, value orientations, hopes, and aspirations as a people.[52]

This perspective also lends strong support to the concept of Indian self-reliance. Simply stated, self-reliance is the confidence and trust in one's own efforts, resources, and powers. In reference to American Indian communities, self-reliance pertains to the ability of communities, through control of their economic resources, to identify and resolve problems within the framework of their own tribal structures. This concept implies greater Indian self-determination in providing the conditions for maximum human growth to individual tribal members.

The dual perspective approach identified in this text serves as a lens through

which the American Indian perspective can be presented. American Indians must be viewed not only as minority members of the larger social system, but also must be understood as separate and distinct tribes with their separate cultures, treaties, policies, and federal relationships.

American Indians and Social Policy

Because of the unique legal status of American Indians with the federal and state governments, special laws and policies have been passed and are still being passed that relate solely to them. The legal and political status of these laws and policies have long been controversial issues in the area of social welfare services. An understanding of the American Indians' legal status and present social welfare policies is, therefore, essential if social workers are to appreciate the many issues and social problems faced by the more than 300 tribes in the United States. Basic to this idea is the concept of assimilation, which has continually guided American society in their approach to Indian policy development.

Knowledge of American Indians' relationship with the federal and state governments, the historical development of Indian policy, and present programs and services being offered to American Indians have been identified as high priority knowledge areas for foundation education.[53]

Organization of Teaching Materials

Two organizational models for introducing a dual perspective into social policy and practice are presented below: the institutional and the policy models. Both can be used separately or combined in organizing a specialized course on American Indian policy or as modules to be integrated into existing policy or macro courses. The added Indian perspective would support attitudes such as the following:

1. That American society, rather than being guided by a moral obligation to American Indians, should recognize and be guided by formal treaties and legal obligations as well. This legal relationship should be seen as a continuous one.
2. That this legal obligation and the services which stem from it should be viewed as an inherited right, not as a handout or moral obligation.
3. That the failure of social service institutions to meet American Indian needs should be viewed not as the direct fault of Indians, but as the failure of outside-imposed institutions that were designed to alleviate the "Indian problem."

The courses/modules proposed are organized around three major time segments: (1) historical development of American Indian social service issues in relation to the federal and state governments, (2) present policies and service programs affecting American Indians, and (3) current and proposed American Indian movements for community survival and inherited rights.

It should be understood that while generalizations can be made across Indian policy, it is imperative to provide local tribal input through guest lectures, panel presentations, and so on, to allow for specific tribal emphasis.

The Institutional Model

The institutional model is effective in comparing and contrasting the life styles and development of both the larger dominant society and American Indian tribes across the major institutions that have been created for man's survival—in government, economics, religion, family, and education. It is especially effective in viewing the destruction and replacement of American Indian basic institutions with those of the dominant society.

The model, organized into five units across the major institutions, may be presented together as a course or module, or as independent units. The objective of each unit is to compare and contrast the life-style patterns of the American Indian or a specific tribe with that of the dominant society. This is accomplished through focusing on past life styles and historical events that have effected their change; present situations now faced by both societies; and future implications for social work intervention and practice for the survival and strengthening of American Indian communities. This approach is also effective in comparing and contrasting other minority groups.

Unit I—Family

In comparison to the nuclear family in the United States, the American Indian nuclear family structure is much broader and inclusive. The concepts of tribe and clan remain strong among many United States tribes and include the extended family members of aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins, and so on, within their immediate family system. Within this family system is a complex network of roles, responsibilities, and communication patterns not easily understood by an outsider.

Attempts have been made in the past to "civilize" and assimilate American Indians through systematic destruction of their major institutions, and in the process the Indian family has been severely attacked. One profession contributing to this has been social work. Because of their ignorance of Indian culture and traditional family structures, social workers—in their attempts to "do good"—have been used by bureaus and agencies to further weaken the Indian family. This is evident in the policies, programs, and methodologies of treatment used in the areas of Indian child welfare, social welfare, aging, and alcoholism.

The challenge for social work practitioners is to develop alternative delivery systems and treatment modalities that will promote the survival and strengthening of Indian tribes, communities, and families rather than to continue using modalities that have proven ineffective.

Unit II—Economics

The Indian and the Euro-American concept of economic development has differed considerably. What was described by early European explorers as a

"vast wilderness yet to be developed by man," was actually the home of the Indian where he had lived for hundreds of years. It was this ecological use of land versus the early industrial development that caused the Euro-American to view the Indians' use of land as wasteful and unproductive.

As American colonies began to develop and spread, conflict increased between the Indian and Euro-Americans as to land use and ownership. To allow for greater expansion and development by Eastern settlers, the federal government enacted a series of treaties and policies that provided for the removal of Indians to Western lands and the creation of reservations that supposedly would protect them from further encroachment by white settlers.

As a result of the removal and reservation policies, the economic system that provided American Indians with independence and resistance to outside intruders was systematically destroyed. The further development of a federal Indian ration system made the tribes almost entirely dependent upon the federal government for their survival.

In a systematic attempt to reverse earlier policy and to develop an economic base for reservations, policies such as the Indian Reorganization Act of 1926 were passed, and others are currently being developed that call for the utilization of reservation and community resources in determining and meeting the economic needs of the tribes and communities. Central to this policy reversal is the development of social service programs that seek to strengthen the independence and self-determination of Indian people. This challenge is particularly great for social work, considering that the past involvement of the profession has been predominantly within those institutions which originally supported the destruction of the Indian economic system.

Unit III—Government

Early American Indian governmental structures were considered advanced when compared with countries throughout the world at that time. The traditional Indian governmental structures were based heavily upon their theology and allowed for a high level of representation and community input into the decision-making process. Particularly worthy of study is the traditional Mohawk governmental structure, on which the early United States government was modeled. The concept of leadership and the selection of Indian leaders also should be reviewed.

Policy that directly attacked the traditional governmental structure began with the organization of reservations. Traditional chiefs and religious leaders were bypassed while law and order authority was delegated to Indian agents and tribal police. The result was a gradual breakdown of traditions upon which the Indian relied heavily, with nothing to replace them.

In response to the Meriam Report of 1926, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed, which created policy to allow for the development of tribal self-government organized according to specific federal guidelines. Today's tribal-council form of Indian government largely stems from this act.

Presently, under policies related to Indian self-determination, tribal governments have been thrust into the areas of community and program planning and

development. Included in this development is contracting for the planning and delivery of social services by tribal governments. Social workers who reflect an American Indian perspective, are knowledgeable about Indian policy, and are skilled in program planning and development are being sought out by various tribes and community groups.

Unit IV—Religion

A fact that has set American Indians apart from other Americans has been their subjection to a conscious and stated policy which denied them freedom of religion. Indian religion as the foundation of Indian culture constantly has been a focus of attack. There are orders on file with the former Army and Interior Departments authorizing soldiers and agents to do all in their power to destroy the Indian religions. As a result, spiritual leaders and healers, as the bearers and transmitters of oral tradition and ritual, historically have been the focal point of this persecution.

Recently, however, concern over the pollution of the environment, increased interest in the field of parapsychology, the recognition of the wholeness of man in relation to mind and body, and the need to be brought into harmony with all living things have proven to be important concepts in the physical and psychological treatment of American Indians. Attempts within the helping professions have been made to identify further the strengths found in the natural support systems, of which religious beliefs and practices play a major role. Ways in which the helping professions and the Indian healers can work together are now being explored and utilized.

Unit V—Education

A number of early treaties with American Indian tribes set the precedent for placing the responsibility of Indian education in the hands of the government. Although the early Indian educational system provided by the extended family was effective, it did not provide for the additional knowledge Indian leaders felt was necessary if the Indian and Euro-Americans were to live together in harmony. Upon the request of several Indian chiefs to teach their people to read and write, the United States in 1819 passed legislation to create a "civilization fund" to provide elementary educational services to Indians. Unfortunately, the concept of education was primarily to "civilize" rather than to educate. This objective soon led to the forced removal of children from parents and family, substandard education, and the breakdown of community educational structures involving parental input and responsibility in the education of their children.

This approach to the education of American Indians has been changed only recently. Through revisions of the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934 and other recent legislation in support of Indian self-determination, Indian communities are now being encouraged to administer and develop their own tribal or community education programs. The acceptance, trust, and participation of the Indian community in response to these new policy directives and programs have proven difficult to obtain. Social workers involved in the education systems

can play an important role in the organization, participation, and input of parents into the local public, tribal, or Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.

Teaching methodology across each of the above five units varies depending on the time available, knowledge of students, and availability of Indian resource persons. Advanced readings supported by guest panel discussions have proven very effective.[54] For instance, selected readings on the development of the present American Indian governmental system are assigned, and are then followed by a panel discussion with a member of a tribal council, a Bureau of Indian Affairs administrator, and a state representative. Discussion would be on their present working relationships and future roles in determining both national and local American Indian social welfare policy.

Policy Model

The policy model is most effective in presenting the development of major American Indian social policy within the historical development of the United States.

The development of American Indian social policy may be divided arbitrarily into seven major periods or units, each of which tends to overlap the other.[55] These units are best presented in sequence as a complete module, with the objective of each unit being to build on the others in order to present a continued effort by the dominant society to address the "Indian problem."

Unit I—The Treaty Period

The Treaty Period began when European nations were carving out their areas of influence in the New World. Through international law, treaties were made with the American Indians by the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English. Upon winning independence, the United States continued this practice of treaty-making until 1871. During this period, 370 treaties were made with various American Indian tribes, many of which are still enforced.

The stated purpose of the treaty policy was to prevent the invasion of Indian lands and to ensure Indian rights and liberty. However, once the American government learned that the Indians were set on maintaining a separate identity and would not begin to give up Indian ways and adopt English ways, it saw the Indian as an undesirable obstacle in the way of national development. As such, the attention turned to securing possession of Indian land and natural resources for personal use, and the role of the central government was to work out in treaties with Indian tribes a system by which this could take place in as orderly a way as possible.

The payment of annuities in connection with treaty-making, as well as the issuance of rations from Army provisions to Indians visiting military posts was begun during this period.

On March 1, 1871, Congress terminated the Indian treaty period. American Indians were no longer a major national threat or obstacle, and consequently were no longer recognized as independent nations, tribes, or powers whom the United States had to contract with by treaty.

Unit II – The Removal Period

Formal policy for the voluntary removal of Indians from Eastern lands was established with the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Indian removal, however, eventually relied more on military force than diplomatic treaty.

Removal of Indians from Eastern lands in exchange for new Western acreage was justified by the federal government as a means of protecting them from repeated encroachments and confrontations with Anglo settlers. Many people actually felt they were doing the American Indians a favor by removing them from "civilization's" path until they could acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for assimilation.

It was during this period that the Bureau of Indian Affairs passed from military to civil control, with placement in the Department of Interior. Under this department, American Indians were viewed as "wards" of the federal government and a major role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs became one of maintaining peace between the Army and the American Indians.

Unit III – The Reservation Period

The philosophy of the reservation system was that Indians were to be made as comfortable on, and as uncomfortable off reservations, as it was in the power of the United States government to make them.

Those Indians who "went right" by accepting resettlement on reservations were cared for through the development of a ration system providing food and clothing. This ration practice, which originally had its beginning in the Treaty Period, became the forerunnner of the special social and health services that are offered to American Indians today through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Public Health Service.

Indians not choosing to accept the forced reservation system, such as the Apaches, Sioux, and Nez Pe.ce, were beaten into submission by the United States Army and forced onto reservations.

The replacement of tribal government with Indian agents, the forbidding of religious ceremonies, and the encouragement of Christianity led to the eventual breakdown of traditions. With the loss of many of their traditional structures, the Indians suffered, since they had nothing to replace them with.

Unit IV – The Land Allotment Period

The Land Allotment Act initiated in 1887 was supposed to assimilate the Indians by giving them individual ownership of land, as opposed to collective tribal ownership. Under this plan, small pieces of tribal land ranging from 40 to 160 acres were alloted to Indian families or individuals.

The result – after 50 years of concerted effort to break up tribal relationships and individualize Indian affairs – reduced Indian land holdings by two-thirds, from over 140 million acres in 1886 to under 50 million acres in 1934. Because of the Indians' lack of financial means and business ability, thousands who received land allotments sold or rented them to non-Indians.

When the sale funds were exhausted or the rental income was too small, the Indians' dependence upon the federal government for assistance increased. The

radical change to reservation life and individual ownership of land was contrary to the Indian way of life and caused not only severe economic problems but psychological conflicts as well.

Unit V—The Indian Reorganization Period

The reorganization period began officially with the Wheeler Howard Act or Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which attempted to repair the damages of the Allotment Period and officially to reestablish tribal governments and Indian community life. The emphasis was upon cooperation between Indian tribes and the federal government to achieve change without forcing it.

During this period there was marked progress in professionalizing the Indian service: better personnel, higher professional standards, improved methods of intervention, and stronger educational programs. The greatest development of the period, however, was the support for tribal self-government. The majority of today's tribal governments stem from this period.

During this time as well, programs for helping American Indian families in search of employment relocate to metropolitan areas was formally initiated. Over the years and particularly after World War II, hundreds of American Indians were relocated to major cities throughout the United States. Although many returned to the reservation, many also remained and today account for the large urban Indian settlements in cities such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and Denver.

Unit VI—The Termination Period

The Termination Period officially began in 1953 with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108. This legislation was prompted by pressures from states and their citizens for the discharge of the federal government's obligation—legal, moral, or otherwise—to American Indians, and the discontinuance of federal supervision and control of federal trusteeship of Indian land. H.C.R. 108 in effect named specific tribes that were to be terminated at the earliest date, including the Menominees of Wisconsin, the Klamaths of Oregon, and various other small tribes throughout the United States.

As early as 1954 however, resistance to the termination policy had developed and Indian and non-Indian groups alike voiced strong opposition to its continuation. States in which tribes eligible for termination resided began to realize that the cost of assuming responsibility for the well-being of their Indian citizens would be high. A good example was the Menominee tribe. With federal support discontinued and money from the termination settlement spent, the Menominees had to look to the state of Wisconsin to provide support for their survival.

In 1968, President Johnson called for an official end to tribal termination policy, and H.C.R. 11 was passed, which created the self-determination without termination period.

Unit VII—The Indian Self-Determination Period

This period began in spirit with the statement in the Northwest Ordinance of July 13, 1787: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the

Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless injustice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." President Johnson expressed this philosophy in his Special Message in 1968, when he proposed the following goals that governmental policy should help American Indians achieve:

1. A standard of living for American Indians equal to that of the country as a whole.
2. Freedom of choice: an opportunity for all American Indians to remain in their homelands if they choose, without surrendering their dignity; and an opportunity for them to move to the towns and cities of America, if they choose, equipped with skills that will allow them to live in equality and dignity.
3. Full participation by American Indians in the life of modern America, with a full share of economic opportunity and social justice.[56]

Several major pieces of legislation have been passed in response to this philosophy. Two recent acts of Congress have been the Indian Self-Determination Act and the Indian Health Care Act. Both call for Indian-sponsored and controlled programs designed to meet the individual needs of tribes.

Particularly relevant to social work is the contracting of tribes with federal and state governments to administer their own social welfare and health services. This is especially difficult with so few trained American Indian social workers and the limited vision of present long-term professionals within the bureaus.

The teaching methodology used in presenting the American Indian policy model is a combination of advanced readings, class lectures, discussions, and a paper on the possible alternative policies in alleviating the "Indian problem."

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6. Summary and Conclusions

The United States increasingly has become aware of the fact that it is a pluralistic nation composed of different racial and ethnic groups, despite the earlier assumption that it was a "melting pot." Since most social workers deal with at least one minority group during their careers, one of the major goals of social work education must be to graduate social workers who understand, appreciate, and are sensitive to minority differences. This source book presents the concept of the dual perspective as one avenue of developing multicultural critical consciousness in the practice of social work education in a pluralistic society.

The dual perspective is defined as the conscious and systematic process of perceiving, understanding, and comparing simultaneously the values, attitudes, and behavior of the larger societal system with those of the client's immediate family and community system. It is the conscious awareness on both the cognitive and the attitudinal levels of the similarities and differences between the two systems. The dual perspective requires substantive knowledge and empathic appreciation of both the major societal system and the immediate client system. Its goal is to broaden social workers' understanding and sensitivity to the total life situation of the client group. Services developed using this kind of assessment should make them more appropriate and effective than at present.

The dual perspective is based on the concept that individuals are a part of two systems, that of their immediate social and physical environment (the nurturing system), and that of the major society in which the nurturing system is embedded. It focuses attention on the degree of congruence or incongruence between the two systems. Therefore while the concept is applicable to all people, it is uniquely suited for working with minority groups, since congruence between the two systems can be severely limited for them.

This source book discusses the theory underlying the dual perspective and illustrates its use in social work education with course material in several areas of social work. In keeping with the cognitive and attitudinal thrust of the dual perspective, most of the course material presents substantive knowledge as well as teaching methodology that will foster the experiential learning necessary to involve the attitudinal concepts of students.

Social work always has made an attempt to understand clients within their total situation in a nonjudgmental manner. However, in the past social work has tended to put these principles into practice with the assumption that there was, or should be, congruence between the values and behavior of the client's world and that of the major society. The dual perspective forces the social worker to move beyond this "melting pot" perspective and not only recognize

pluralism, but know and appreciate the elements of the various minority communities as they interact with those of the larger society. Despite its name, the dual perspective is not an attempt to polarize minority and nonminority, but is an attempt to assure assessment of the total client situation by forcing attention on all elements of it. The dual perspective should not be interpreted as being a concept for use only with minorities: it can be applied to all people. It should direct attention to the "common human needs" of people and the degree to which they are met within the nurturing society and within the major society.[1]

Originally only oppressed minority groups such as American Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, and Latinos were insistent on claiming rights to their cultural and racial heritage, however, other less easily identifiable groups are now insisting on their right to recognition of their ethnic heritage. If this trend should continue, use of the dual perspective will facilitate understanding of their points of view also.

The concept of the dual perspective needs further work in its application to social work education and practice. There should be clearer definition and specification of its application to various kinds of practice and to course material than has been accomplished here. Development of substantive knowledge is required. For example, understanding the Latino *amistad compadrazo* system as an important indigenous coping and mutual assistance institution within the Latino community that should be recognized and supported by the more formal social welfare services, is knowledge that is not readily available. This duality of indigenous values and institutions existing within those of the larger society is often present for minority groups, but not much of it is yet documented.

Ferreting out valid knowledge of the client's nurturing system is a difficult task, but one that social work should engage in with all its client systems. Placing this knowledge in perspective in regard to the wider society and determining an appropriate level and process of intervention is an additional difficulty. In a society as diverse as the United States, the task can become almost overwhelming. However, social work has no alternative but to make this attempt if it proposes to serve its total client population.

Finally, the dual perspective represents the relationship between theory and problem solving that social welfare must turn to as our society becomes more complex. This concept developed out of the application of social science and personality theory to the problem of understanding diverse client systems. Use of social science theory in relation to the social and physical environment provides the theoretical concept of the dual perspective, which should give direction to the social welfare professional's search to understand the diverse kinds of client life-situations and the implications for practice.

Note

1. Charlotte Towle, *Common Human Needs*, Public Assistance Report No. 8 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1945).